HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Urban Guerrillas in Latin America?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The truly ominous thing about the assassination in Guatemala of two U.S. military officers—Col. John D. Webber of Houston, Tex., and Lt. Cmdr. Ernest A. Munro of Rockland, Maine—is that the murders didn't take place in obscure jungle or mountain surroundings. The officers were gunned down in their own car by Castroites firing from another car near the Guatemalan Air Force headquarters.

The Castroites have evidently digested the lesson of Che Guevara's failure in Bolivia, where an unsuccessful effort was made to start a Communist revolution by taking over the countryside before moving into the cities.

Now, in Guatemala, the Castroites have reversed their order: they are killing people where most people live, in the developed urban and suburban areas. Terror strikes from the fast automobile and from the man in dark glasses on the motor scooter.

Since Latin America is becoming heavily urbanized, the change in terrorist pattern could portend a most difficult period for established governments. The romantic guerrilla hiding in the mountains will still keep his symbolic significance. But Che Guevara's plan to subvert the whole of Latin America below the Mexican plateau by turning the cordillera—the huge mountain spine that runs all the way from Guatemala to the southernmost reaches of Chile—into a base for revolutionists is evidently on its way to the discarded lumber room of history.

Several factors have combined to produce the change. The first was the refusal of the Bolivian peasants to listen to Che Guevara's revolutionary arguments, or to read the French Marxist Regis Debray's book exalting the guerrilla who lives in friendly understanding with the rural back country population. The second was the Cuban Castroites' own belated realization that the war to rid Cuba of Batista was won in Havana and Santiago, by the middle classes who were sick of an old dictatorship.

Only after it was safe to move on Havana did the Castro army come out of the Sierra Maestra. Fidel Castro, as a symbol, was extremely important, but militarily speaking he was the cuckoo that laid the egg in another bird's nest.

The third factor in forcing a shift in Latin American revolutionary strategy is the emergence of the urban guerrilla fighter in the slum areas of U.S. cities.

It is not for nothing that our Stokely Carmichaels and Rap Browns are exalted in Havana; they have pointed to the vulnerability of the established order wherever congestion offers good targets and makes police supervision difficult short of a declaration of martial law.

Clemente Marroquin Rojas, the Guatemalan vice president who owns the newspaper *La Hora*, has been trying rather forlornly to get the attention of the world by his journalistic campaign against the new urban guerrillas. As he says, "we now have terrorists even in our soup."

Black Power militant H. Rap Brown, frequently an exponent of urban violence, recently spent several hours in the Cuban U.N. mission in New York.

A U.S. Embassy official covers the body of Col. John D. Webber Jr., who was slain along with another American in the recent attack in Guatemala. Such incidents are highlighting an apparent switch in Red terror tactics from the countryside to the city.

Four thousand people have been killed by assassins in Guatemala in the past 18 months. The Left accuses the Right of "genocide," and the Right accuses the Left of Communist terrorism. But the Castroites openly boast that they murdered the two U.S. military officers; they had the officers' names on a list which has become public property.

Castro has promised to open up "two or three Viet Nams" for the U.S. to handle right here in the Americas. Bolivia was No. 1 in the plan, and it flopped when Che Guevara was captured and killed. Guatemala is No. 2. No. 3 is Colombia, next door to the Panama Canal. Eighty Castroite guerrillas were landed recently in the Cordoba area of Colombia, and 100 more on a peninsula near the Colombia-Venezuela border. This gives the Castroites two more "armies" in Colombia to support the existing bands of Fabio Vasquez and the rebel known as "Tiro Fijo," or "Sure Shot." When the Colombian guerrillas move into the cities, watch out!

Meanwhile Castro has expressed great curiosity about the "Black Power" threats of bigger guerrilla uprisings in our Detroits, New Yorks and Newarks next summer. This suggests a query: what was Rap Brown doing in the Cuban Embassy in New York, anyway?

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Former Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** is expected to officially kick off his campaign for the presidency sometime this week.

● Rep. **Melvin Laird**, the Wisconsin Republican conservative, continues to bestow favors on Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. The chairman of the Republican convention platform in 1964 not only declares that Rocky has the best chance to beat LBJ, but is now sending out Rocky's state of the state address to GOPers across the country as an example of a superb talk. Many politicos, however, believe there's more than meets the eye in Laird's sudden "conversion" into a Rockefeller fan. According to one insider's account, Laird is willing to be nice to Rocky so long as Rocky will forget about curbing Laird's and Dirksen's role in shaping the 1968 GOP platform in Miami.

● There's likely to be a big shake-up in the **anti-poverty program** this year. According to officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity, LBJ has plans to dump chief poverty warrior R. Sargent Shriver. Next, he wants to siphon funds from the more volatile community action agencies with the hope of preventing the eruption of additional agency scandals during an election year. Finally, in order to pay off organized labor for its advance support of his candidacy, the President will then channel a huge chunk of the poverty dollars through labor-created and labor-staffed anti-poverty committees. UAW chieftain Walter Reuther, whose friends and allies are already spread through existing poverty programs, stands to be a big beneficiary of this particular LBJ plan.

● According to White House sources, LBJ deliberately omitted from his State of the Union message any mention of the Administration's drive to promote **East-West trade**. LBJ's previous push for "building bridges" to the Communists, it is said, has backfired with both Congress and the public.

● The East-West trade issue, however, is still bound to come up again in this session of Congress whether LBJ wants it to or not. The Senate last year passed **Export-Import Bank legislation** with the LBJ-opposed proviso that the bank could not do business with nations trading with North Viet Nam and could not be used to finance a proposed Soviet automobile plant stocked with high-quality American machine tools. The House did not act on the bill, but the leadership agreed to bring it up sometime this year.

● Conservatives are not exactly happy that Sen. **Bourke B. Hickenlooper** is retiring this year, for that means the more dovish Sen. George Aiken of Vermont will become the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. South Dakota's Sen. Karl Mundt, however, may be able to keep Aiken somewhat in check. The veteran anti-Communist, as a result of Sen. Frank Carlson's impending exit from Congress, will now be the No. 2 Republican on the important committee.

● Gov. **George Romney** of Michigan has apparently improved his presidential chances as a result of his recent swing through New Hampshire. Even those close to Richard Nixon, the governor's chief rival there, agree that Romney has lowered the odds against his winning.

● Despite Romney's liberal positions, however, the majority of reporters covering the Michigan governor are hoping that he loses badly to Nixon in the March primary. Why? The newsmen are rooting for New York Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller.** If Romney gets crushed by Nixon in New Hampshire, they feel, Rocky will unquestionably emerge as the No. 1 rallying point for the GOP liberals.

● Sen. **Thruston Morton** (R.-Ky.), who has turned dove on Viet Nam and is apparently favoring Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for the Republican nomination, is still seriously angling to replace the 72-year-old Everett Dirksen as the GOP's leader in the Senate. Morton, it is said, had hoped to achieve this position after the 1968 elections, but he may now make an even earlier bid for the post should Dirksen continue in poor health.

● Morton, however, would probably face stiff opposition. When Dirksen feels it's time to relinquish the leadership reins, say insiders, he hopes to hand them over to Sen. **Roman Hruska,** a solid Nebraska conservative.

● Top Administration officials fear that **politically disastrous scandals** may soon be exposed in the Small Business Administration, the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Housing Authority.

● LBJ's **10 per cent** tax hike is in more trouble than ever. Members of Congress, unsympathetic to **any** increase in an election year, read the Gallup Poll with interest last week. The nationwide survey disclosed that eight out of 10 voters oppose the hike, and that opposition is equally strong in both parties.

● Hugh C. Newton, director of information for the National Right to Work Committee, has pointed out the strange morality of CBS newscaster **Walter Cronkite** in a recent letter to National Review. Cronkite, says Newton, recently resigned from the board of directors of the National Oceanography Association "because of what he termed a possible conflict of interest (they oppose giving the United Nations the rights to the resources on the bottom of the world's oceans)," but "sees no reason to resign from a union [AFTRA] that spends a large share of its dues for political purposes, and derives its strength from the morally indefensible system of compulsory unionism."

● The 20th Century Fox film corporation has announced it will produce a film biography of **Che Guevara,** the Communist revolutionary killed recently while trying to overthrow the Bolivian government. Although no director or cast members have yet been selected, the company announced production on the film will begin in June.

● **Scandinavian socialism** took another beating last week as the Socialist government of Danish Premier Jens Otto Krag went down to defeat in Denmark's general elections. Mushrooming taxes, coupled with the rampant welfare statism so common in Scandinavian countries gave "conservatively oriented" parties 101 of the 179-member national legislature. In recent years Norwegian and Swedish voters have delivered sharp rebuffs to their Socialist governments.

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The Unlearned Lesson

The highly provocative act by the North Koreans in seizing the U.S.S. *Pueblo* off the coast of North Korea, presumably in international waters, and then holding the 83-man crew as hostages, has demonstrated anew the folly of the Johnson Administration in its efforts to pursue a detente with the Soviet Union and the rest of the Communist world.

Whatever the full story regarding this extraordinary event—and the Administration is certainly concealing some important facts—diplomatic observers stress that the incident should forcefully drive home the point that the United States cannot hope to mellow its opponents through kind words and kind deeds.

The event has underscored the bankruptcy of Administration plans to promote peace through East-West trade, unilateral disarmament, non-proliferation treaties, Glassboro conferences, cultural exchanges and the like. For concentration on these so-called acts of magnanimity only serves to dull this nation's awareness of the very real threat posed by the Communist enemy and its global apparatus.

Much of the thinking in the intelligence community in the Nation's Capital is that the *Pueblo* affair is no isolated act, that the Communists have decided to step up the tempo of their terrorist activities in the international arena.

In Guatemala, as *Human Events* noted last week, a Castroite organization gunned down in midday two military attaches of the U.S. Embassy (see front page). In North Viet Nam some 10,000 North Vietnamese have entered the south to battle U.S. Marines. Just two weeks ago the Pentagon learned that the Kremlin had dispatched offensive Styx surface-to-surface missiles to North Viet Nam, missiles capable of wiping out entire population centers.

Having already triggered one war in the Mideast, the Soviets are setting the stage for another one. In addition, the Soviet Navy has been deliberately harassing the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

The *Pueblo* affair, itself, was only the latest series of flagrant aggressive actions by the North Koreans. North Koreans, Soviet-trained and supplied, have greatly increased their guerrilla raids upon the south, with some experts predicting a full-scale guerrilla invasion is in the making.

During 1966, 50 guerrilla raids were reported in the south. In 1967 there were 543. Immediately prior to the pirating of the *Pueblo,* South Koreans killed, captured or dispersed a group of 30 northern infiltrators intent on assassinating President Park Chung Hee. Thus the bountiful proof that the Administration's appeasement policies have failed, and failed disastrously.

Reaction to Pueblo Affair

• Military analyst Gen. Thomas A. Lane had this reaction to the *Pueblo* affair: "There is only one way to handle these incidents. Commanders on the spot must have authority to act with all available power to protect the interests of the United States. These attacks will cease only when the Kremlin knows that this authority rests in the field commanders. In days when the United States was more respected, commanders had this authority. But then Secretary McNamara introduced into our national councils the false proposition that all responses should be controlled from Washington because any one of them might lead to nuclear war. By the time the President gets the facts, it is too late to act and the United States confronts another *fait accompli*. That is why McNamara's tenure has been punctuated by defeat after defeat from the Bay of Pigs to the surrender of the U.S.S. *Pueblo.*"

• Lane also said: "Is the United States so fearful of opening a new front in Korea that it will condone the piracy? . . . We are weakened not physically but psychologically. Washington's illusions about peace-making invite the Communist attack. The enemy knows that such thrusts will be met not with instant retaliation but with protracted negotiation. The mere act of negotiating such an issue demeans the United States and advances the Communist conquest of the world. Who can have any confidence in a country that considers the freedom of the seas to be negotiable?"

• John Stennis (D.-Miss.), a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said he was "incensed by the piratical seizure" of the *Pueblo,* but he also stressed he was "almost equally concerned by reports that no defense of the ship was made, that assistance from other U.S. forces was neither asked for nor received, and that supersecret and highly sensitive codes, documents, electronics equipment and other gear were captured intact by the Communists. If these reports are true, and I emphasize that they are only reports, very serious questions arise and our intelligence-gathering activities in this area have been seriously compromised."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

• Other questions arisen and not satisfactorily answered: Since the North Koreans had harassed U.S. intelligence ships on previous occasions and since the *Pueblo* was a "passive" ship with no heavy weapons aboard, why wasn't a destroyer escort maintained in the vicinity for its protection? Why, too, haven't we perfected a way to completely scuttle sensitive decoding equipment? In attempting to blow up special spy equipment, it was learned, four *Pueblo* crewmen were injured, one critically.

• Diplomatic observers believe the Defense Department is correct when it avers that the *Pueblo* was captured in international waters, not the territorial waters of North Korea. (North Korea claims its boundaries extend 12 miles out to sea, while the United States claims only a three-mile limit for itself.) But even if the *Pueblo* did knife into North Korea's waters, the manner in which the North Koreans carried out the seizure of this U.S. vessel reveals the belligerent and reckless nature of the Communist regime. Soviet intelligence ships, it is pointed out, have frequently violated even our three-mile limit and the United States has refrained from any such drastic action as seizure. Furthermore, the use of the U.S. crew as hostages, the obviously forced or faked confession from the *Pueblo's* captain (which even the New York *Times* scoffed at), and North Korea's crude rebuffs of America's diplomats reveal that the North Koreans intended to deliberately insult the United States and test our will.

• The *Pueblo* affair and Communist aggression elsewhere, however, has apparently not impressed Senators Thruston B. Morton (R.-Ky.), Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) and Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.). While the North Koreans still had the *Pueblo* in tow, Morton, in a speech last week before the American Jewish Committee in New York, urged the President to seek a summit meeting with Russian leaders and somehow forget about the "dated dogma of the Cold War." Percy and Mansfield, in speeches prepared for the very liberal Foreign Policy Association in Washington, argued that the main problem with the world is that "anti-communism" had been made "an American ideology." Percy said, "Let us deal in the real world, not with a world of make-believe in which all Communists are equally villainous and America is presumed to be 99 and 44/100 per cent pure."

Liberal Demo Scores OEO

LBJ's anti-poverty program will face some stiff opposition this year from Rep. Edith Green (Ore.), the No. 2 Democrat on the House Education and Labor Committee. Mrs. Green sorely vexed her fellow liberals in the first session of the 90th Congress when she fought to curb federal dictation over both education and poverty funds and transfer control to the states and cities.

GREEN

At a press conference last week the Oregon lawmaker reasserted her goal of phasing out the Office of Economic Opportunity entirely. She wants to turn over its functions to existing federal and state agencies. To help prove her point that OEO must be radically altered, she plans to have her Special Subcommittee on Education hold hearings on OEO programs in Portland, Ore., and various other cities.

Mrs. Green claims the Job Corps could easily be absorbed by the Department of Vocational Education in each of the states. "The Job Corps," she maintains, "is treating a symptom, not a cause. At a maximum, it reaches 70,000 persons a year, yet you have a million dropouts. When you treat only 5 to 8 per cent of the symptoms, you can't claim it's a success."

Mrs. Green also zeroed in on Head Start and Upward Bound, whose operations she wants to hand over to the Office of Education. Her subcommittee plans a thorough probe of Upward Bound, Mrs. Green stated, partly because Portland has had some pretty "unpleasant experiences" with the program. "The high school principals said they would not participate; . . . it was never intended as a program to create social unrest in the high school."

Rep. Green emphasizes she's not opposed to the goals of the anti-poverty program. But she also stresses that Sargent Shriver's current OEO is eating up anti-poverty funds "in high administrative costs and a lot of high salaries and big telephone bills. That money doesn't go to the poor."

Model Klan Program

Will U.S. lawmakers grant LBJ the extra $1 billion he wants for his model cities program? That's a question that should interest taxpayers. As *Human Events* has consistently pointed out, the model cities program funded last year turned into nothing less than a new pork barrel project to help mainly Democratic districts.

Less than 12 hours after the controversial legislation passed the House last year, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert Weaver announced that 63 cities were due to receive model city funds. Of the 63, only nine were represented by Republicans.

One grant went to Manchester, N.H., whose representative, Republican Louis Wyman, cast a crucial vote to save the model cities legislation. Another went to Smithville, Tenn., which, by strange coincidence, is the home of Rep. Joe Evins (D.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee that handles Weaver's budget. Democrats who had been particularly helpful to LBJ in passing model cities and anti-poverty legislation also received a major share of the model cities funds.

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Now, however, the program has taken on a new twist. Whereas previously LBJ had permitted left-wing revolutionaries to direct the anti-poverty programs, he is now letting a Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America (UKA) help supervise his model cities grants.

Under procedures set up by the federal government, Calvin Craig, Georgia's Grand Dragon of the UKA, has been elected a vice chairman of the federally sponsored model cities program in Atlanta, Ga. The $16,000 executive director of the program is Johnny C. Johnson, a Negro, who hopes "to be in many close meetings with Mr. Craig and establish some type of communication." Johnson told *Human Events* that Craig will help supervise policy for the model city program in Adair Park, though Johnson will not receive a salary, said Craig. It is not certain whether he will receive some other form of payment, however.

While the whole affair has its comic aspects, the UKA is not exactly a funny organization. Formed in 1961 in Georgia with the aid of Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton and Craig, the UKA has gradually expanded into the largest and most powerful klan in the United States.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities says that Shelton and Craig have tried to "blur the traditional image of the klans as a band of violent, fanatical night-riders," but that actual recruiting practices "demonstrated that the UKA was accepting fanatical and violence-prone elements into its fold."

UKA members have been indicted on prominent murder charges and are in the forefront of harassing Negroes.

Craig, himself, says the committee "is particularly fond of turning up at civil rights demonstrations and sit-ins, increasing racial tensions and utilizing resultant publicity to attract new recruits into his organization."

Grand Dragon Craig, says the committee, on Jan. 18, 1964, organized the picketing of downtown Atlanta hotels, restaurants and department stores which had desegregated eating facilities. Less than a week later, Craig "returned with his klansmen to picket in downtown Atlanta and eventually gravitated to a street corner where a Negro civil rights demonstration was in progress. Craig was observed to step into the street and urge white persons to help the klansmen break up the Negro demonstration. Police reinforcements sought to restrict the confrontation to a verbal battle. When Grand Dragon Craig nevertheless insisted upon leading his klansmen in a march between the rows of Negro demonstrators, the confrontation degenerated into a fist fight."

Craig has also attended klan courses in the use of shotguns, hand-guns and in the method of manufacturing Molotov cocktails and other detonating devices.

Nevertheless, Calvin Craig now has a say in how your dollar will be spent on the model cities program.

SBA Scandal

The once-sacrosanct Small Business Administration came under new fire last week as Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Ill.) linked the agency to a "scandalous" $13.3-million government contract.

GROSS

Only a week earlier, the SBA had been accused of "gross favoritism" in its loans to a prominent Alaska Democrat (see *Human Events* last week).

In a House speech, Gross said that former SBA chief Eugene P. Foley, a protege of Vice President Hubert Humphrey, was personally responsible for the government's losing $3.1 million when Universal Fiberglass Corp. of Minnapolis defaulted on its contract to build mail trucks for the post office.

Gross disclosed that Universal Fiberglass was able to obtain the contract only after Foley gave the firm an SBA "certificate of competency." The certificate was issued despite the fact that SBA examiners and the General Services Administration had found that even with government loans, the firm could not handle the contract.

"Just as the GSA and SBA experts had feared, Universal failed miserably," Gross said. "It never manufactured more than half the daily number of vehicles called for in the contract—just as had been predicted. Then it went bust. The government, so far, has doled out $2.1 million in progress payments for mail trucks that were never built; is holding the bag for approximately another $1 million in loans, and is paying the bills to keep guards around Universal's padlocked railroad roundhouse."

NET Shows Pro-Red Film

The federally assisted National Educational Television network (NET)—sometimes sardonically referred to as America's own Tokyo Rose—has apparently decided to become a major vehicle for showing pro-Communist films in the United States and passing them off as objective journalism.

In 1965, as *Human Events* has previously related, NET distributed to its over 130 affiliates around the country "Three Faces of Cuba," a one-hour spectacular that lauded Fidel Castro's regime. And just last year viewers were treated to another pro-Castro film, "Report from Cuba," without NET's ever divulging that co-producer Saul Landau is a product of the New Left and had once been a member of the partially Castro-financed Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Last week, however, NET probably surpassed its previous brazenness in bringing pro-Communist propaganda into America's living rooms and cloaking it as something else.

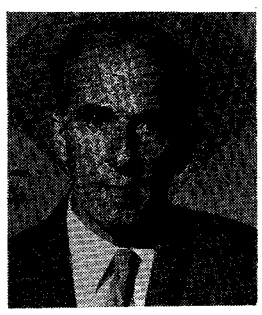
While U.S. soldiers were dying in battle in Viet Nam, NET showed Felix Greene's "North Viet Nam," a potent 50-minute puff piece on behalf of Ho Chi Minh's native country and his "war of liberation" against the South.

Greene's flick was typical pro-Communist fare. He depicted Buddhists and Catholics as "living in harmony," without ever suggesting that religion has been ruthlessly suppressed in the north. He portrayed America as indiscriminately bombing the Vietnamese people, a downright fabrication—even according to North Viet Nam's own casualty figures. Greene's grotesque version of history referred to Ho Chi Minh as a "poet" and the "symbol of his people's passionate desire for independence from foreign rule. . . ."

There was not the slightest hint that Ho is a Moscow-trained Communist who deliberately butchered his fellow subjects by the tens of thousands and sent nearly a million of them scurrying to the south in 1954. Indeed, so distorted is Greene's film that the word Communist is not mentioned throughout the entire production!

Nor is this all. The introductory material on Greene by NET announcer Dick McCutcheon tends to credit Greene as an objective reporter with impressive credentials rather than as a reliable propagandist for Communist causes.

McCutcheon fosters the notion that Greene is an expert on Far Eastern matters by noting that he has visited Communist China, interviewed Chou En Lai and spent many months in North Viet Nam. Refusing to cast the slightest doubt on Greene's objectivity, McCutcheon allows Greene to speak for himself on this matter and lets it go unchallenged:



GREENE

"Greene told NET," McCutcheon concludes, "that while he was barred from military sites and accompanied by an interpreter, he was by and large granted the itinerary of his choice and permitted to choose his own subjects. Mr. Greene said that his film was sent out of the country undeveloped, and was therefore not viewed by North Vietnamese authorities.

"Felix Greene said that he was not impartial in making this film. He described his own attitude in this way, and I quote—'Though opposed to the war, I did not especially search out material damaging to either side in this conflict. I decided to let the journalistic chips fall wherever they might.'"

At no time did NET quarrel with this assertion. At no time did it reveal Greene's significant efforts on behalf of the Communists. At no time did this "educational" network delve into Greene's other works, which include two books and a film paying glowing tribute to Communist China. At no time was the unwary viewer apprised of Greene's statements on behalf of the Soviet Union.

NET's only "sop" to objectivity was to have two experts discuss the film—David Schoenbrun, who enthusiastically endorsed it, and Robert Scalapino, who tried to take issue with some of the film's premises. But Scalapino did not come equipped to discuss Greene's background and the discussion largely ignored the film anyway.

Despite NET's obvious aid to North Viet Nam, however, Congress apparently has no intention of withdrawing NET's tax-exempt status. Indeed, as *Human Events* has consistently pointed out, NET will probably receive the lion's share of funds appropriated for the new Public Broadcasting Act that was passed into law last year.

More Aid for Poland?

The State Department is giving "every consideration" to a Polish request that Uncle Sam forget some $40 million in "hard" loans that become due this year and next. Only last year Washington excused a $17-million Polish debt.

FINDLEY

Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) has fired off an angry letter to President Johnson, urging that the U.S. stand firm. Noting the country's grave financial situation, Findley added that Polish aid to North Viet Nam is becoming ever more flagrant.

"Polish ships continue to dock regularly at Haiphong harbor in North Viet Nam," he wrote. "Last June, Zenon Klizko, regarded as the second-most prominent leader in the Communist hierarchy in Poland, visited Hanoi where he credited weapons furnished by Poland with shooting down or disabling 40 U.S. aircraft."

Findley said that "under these circumstances, further monetary aid to the government of Poland would seem to be totally out of the question and unconscionable." But he's still waiting for an answer from LBJ.

Praise for LBJ

LBJ uses a team of four White House staffers to prepare speeches in praise of himself for members of Congress to insert into the *Congressional Record*, Democrats informed reporters last week. On Capitol Hill, quipped the Chicago *Tribune*, the four are known as "the official White House retorters."

Up at dawn every morning scouring the *Congressional Record* and major newspapers, these staffers must write answers to every major attack on the President and the Johnson Administration. Their replies, speeches running anywhere from a minute to three minutes, are sent to Democratic leaders at the Capitol for distribution to loyal Johnson supporters.

On an average day, from three to six retorts for insertion into the Record will be delivered to friendly Democrats. On the day following a major Johnson speech or report to Congress, anywhere from six to a dozen "reaction" speeches are sent to Capitol Hill extolling LBJ's virtues.

Most of these answers are used, but some of the output is too "unctuous" or "nauseating," even for the Democratic leaders. Noted one: "We usually have to give them to members of the Democratic Study Group. . . ." [The powerful and well-organized liberal group inside the Democratic party].

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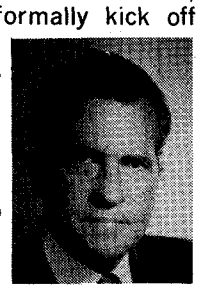
POLITICS '68

NIXON

Former Vice President **Richard Nixon**, who is expected to formally kick off his presidential campaign sometime this week, finds that his bandwagon continues to pick up steam. Barring any major slip-ups, Nixon will probably go into the Miami convention with well over **500 delegates** pledged to his support. The polls reveal that he is still the top choice with the Republican rank-and-file and that he will decisively defeat Gov. George Romney in the first major primary contest in New Hampshire.


NIXON

Nixon has also managed to line up important **conservative and middle-of-the-road GOP leaders** in the House, including Representatives John Ashbrook (Ohio), William E. Brock (Tenn.) and Clark MacGregor (Minn.) and GOP whip Leslie Arends (Ill.).

Last week Nixon received still another encouraging boost from Sen. **John Tower** (R.-Tex.). Tower, it had been thought at one time, was not particularly enamored with Nixon and was even hoping to be tapped for the vice presidential spot on a non-Nixon ticket.

But today Tower is one of Nixon's most eager backers. At a Dallas fund-raising breakfast on January 20, Tower all but endorsed Nixon while introducing him. Describing the former vice president as the most articulate Republican exponent of free world policies, Tower said:

"I know of no one in our party who has better articulated the type of policy proposals . . . [that would] make America the leader of the free world." Tower has also been talking up Nixon in other parts of the state and political observers now feel that Nixon has the edge in Texas over all other GOP presidential possibilities, including Gov. Ronald Reagan. In short, Nixon will toss his hat into the ring as the man to beat.

ROCKY

As a result of Nixon's obvious lead for the GOP nomination, the liberal wing of the Republican party is trying what amounts to almost a **last-ditch effort** to head off the former vice president with Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**.

ROCKEFELLER

GOP chairmen from 12 Eastern states and the District of Columbia scheduled **a secret meeting** last week at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York to plot strategy for the convention.

Howard E. Russell Jr., the GOP chairman in Rhode Island and head of the Northeastern Association of Republican state chairmen, confirmed that the purpose of the closed meeting was "to see if there is any consensus on the best man for us to back, and if there is, to discuss what we can do to help him along."

While Russell denied the meeting was part of a **"draft Rocky" campaign**, pro-Rockefeller District of Columbia Chairman Carl L. Shipley said he expected that discussion of Rockefeller's possible candidacy "will be high on the agenda." The Eastern states will have 355 votes at the Republican convention, slightly more than half the 667 needed for nomination.

• Arkansas Gov. **Winthrop Rockefeller** says his brother may change his mind about running "if Romney drops out."

• Former New Hampshire Gov. Hugh Gregg, state campaign chairman for Rockefeller in the 1964 primary, is believed to be the main force behind a drive in the state to send **pro-Rockefeller delegates** to the national convention. Five New Hampshirites have already filed as delegates favorable to the New York governor.

PEACENIK ACTORS

A number of leading **Hollywood and Broadway** stars are raising funds for Democratic senators and congressmen who are opposed to the Johnson Administration's policy in Viet Nam. In Lincoln Center's Philharmonic Hall last week, over $30,000 was reportedly collected from some 2,800 people who had packed the hall to be entertained by such big-name performers as Harry Belafonte, Barbara Streisand, Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward, Carl Reiner, Tommy Smothers, Robert Ryan and Tony Randall. Miss Streisand bemoaned the results of war in a song written by Leonard Bernstein with words by Adolph Green and Betty Comden.

At the hall, Senators **Ernest Gruening** (Alaska) and **Wayne Morse** (Ore.) were given standing ovations. Gruening charged that the United States was the aggressor in Viet Nam. Also in attendance: Representatives George E. Brown Jr., Phillip Burton and Don Edwards, all from California; Representatives John G. Dow and William F. Ryan, both of New York, and Rep. John Conyers of Michigan. Each is slated to benefit financially. A **second affair** for Democratic "peace" candidates will be held in Los Angeles in March.

ADA

Formed 20 years ago to forge a liberal alliance within the Democratic party, the **Americans for Democratic Action** may find itself in tatters after the special ADA national board meeting February 10-11. The reason: the candidacy of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, one of the group's founders.

RAUH

Washington lawyer **Joseph Rauh Jr.**, an ADA vice chairman, says there will be a move at the meeting to put the organization on record as endorsing McCarthy, but then he predicts a "brawl."

"It could be a perfectly happy meeting," says Rauh, "if it weren't for the latent threat of the Johnson crowd to walk out."

ADA's union members agree. Working to rally **Johnson sentiment** is Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whom Rauh calls a "hatchet man" for the White House.

Tyler figures the McCarthy people have a **50-50 chance** of winning an endorsement for the Minnesotan, but feels the tide is now running toward Johnson. "They [the McCarthy people] would have had a better chance of winning an endorsement if the ADA had the meeting when Galbraith [John Kenneth Galbraith, ADA chairman] had wanted it [on January 12]. But the McCarthy campaign is proving to be a dud so far."

If the ADA endorses McCarthy, Tyler says, "The unions could not stay in.... One side is out to **dump Johnson** and the other is out to elect Johnson."

The ADA meeting will be interesting to watch, for it will put a number of **liberal politicos** on the hot spot, including ADA members Sen. Wayne Morse, UAW leader Walter Reuther and United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel.

SHRIVER

Republican leaders in Chicago believe that LBJ's chief poverty warrior, **R. Sargent Shriver,** now has the inside track for the Democratic senatorial nomination in Illinois. If Shriver gets tapped, he would oppose GOP leader Everett Dirksen in what could shape up as the nation's most exciting 1968 senatorial contest.

SHRIVER

Shriver has been in and out of Chicago recently to **meet secretly** with Mayor Richard Daley and Rep. Daniel D. Rostenkowski, chairman of the slate-making committee for statewide offices. Rostenkowski also happens to favor the anti-poverty czar. Washingtonians recall, moreover, that LBJ last year as much as told Shriver he could have the nomination if he managed to steer most of the anti-poverty program through Congress intact. Shriver did just that.

While the anti-poverty program has been laced with scandal, politicos believe that Shriver could put up **quite a showing** and that the race would bring in millions of dollars to aid the Democrats statewide. In addition, a Shriver race might effect a sort of **Kennedy-Johnson truce,** at least in Illinois. Not only would LBJ want Shriver to make a good showing, but so would the Kennedys, who would undoubtedly aid their brother-in-law.

BIPAC

The Business-Industry-Political Action Committee (BIPAC), which pumped $300,000 into the 1966 elections, is planning to go after aging liberal Democrats in 1968. The plan was revealed in an interview with Joseph B. Lanterman, president of Amsted Industries, Inc. He helped to found BIPAC four years ago and said the organization's function is "to elect representatives and senators who are **free-enterprise oriented.**"

BIPAC has normally gone into races where the candidates have a good chance of winning, but Lanterman says that his organization may finance "**small chance" races** if the liberal Democratic incumbents are fairly old.

Two Democratic congressmen from Illinois, for example, **William L. Dawson**, who won't give out his birth date, and **Barratt O'Hara**, 85, are likely targets of BIPAC because of their age. "It's entirely possible," Lanterman told a Washington Post reporter, "that if a young conservative tried to buck them we'd consider supporting him."

CAPSULES

• Politicos say that Florida's flamboyant Gov. **Claude Kirk** has a secret as well as an open reason for teeing off on Dixiecrat George Wallace. The open reason is that Wallace is a decided threat to the GOP in the Southland. The secret reason: Kirk yearns for a second spot on the national ticket in 1968. By blasting Wallace, he hopes to become a "respectable" Southerner who could be welcomed for the vice presidential position—even by a liberal Republican presidential candidate.

• Plans are under way to bring **1,000 federal agents** to Chicago for riot control and guard duty at next summer's Democratic National Convention.

• Dovish **"Pete" McCloskey** won the right to represent San Mateo, Calif., in the House of Representatives, but he may face still another challenge from fellow Republican **Shirley Temple Black**, whom he defeated last year in an open primary. Mrs. Black, who disagrees sharply with McCloskey on Viet Nam, says she may try to whip the ex-Marine in the Republicans-only primary in June.

• **Bobby Kennedy** is "seriously considering" a "go-for-broke" race in which he will challenge LBJ for nomination. At least that's the story he is currently leaking to friends in the press (see page 15).

• Rep. **Armistead Selden** (D.-Ala.), a hawkish and influential member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is favored to win the Senate seat to be vacated by retiring Sen. Lister Hill. Selden's elevation to the Senate, if he succeeds, should be a marked improvement over the liberal Hill.

• Connecticut politicos report that **James Boyd** is thinking of opposing his old boss, Sen. **Tom Dodd**, for renomination two years from now. Boyd, the trusted confidant who looted Dodd's files and turned them over to columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, has established residence in the Nutmeg State and is giving the race "a great deal of thought."

• Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice **Michael Musmanno**, a vigorous anti-Communist, has apparently decided to challenge dovish Sen. Joseph Clark for renomination. Musmanno supporters are currently circulating petitions to get him on the Democratic primary ballot.

• Indiana State Rep. William D. Ruckelshaus has announced his candidacy for the GOP nomination to oppose liberal Democratic Sen. Birch Bayh. Ruckelshaus, majority leader of the Indiana House and a moderate conservative, says that Bayh is a two-faced politician "who talks economy in government in Indiana and votes 'spend' in Washington." The Indianapolis News reports that Ruckelshaus may have no opposition for the GOP nomination.

• Veteran Rep. **Charles Halleck** (R.-Ind.) former House Republican leader, announced his retirement last week, saying it was time for a younger man to take over. The 2nd District seat which Halleck has held since 1935 is expected to remain in GOP hands.

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Do We Need a Private WPA?

Business should beware of creating make-work jobs

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly, Jan. 15, 1968*

A famous old lithograph long cherished by the nation's retailers depicts the happy storekeeper who "sold for cash" and his harassed competitor who "sold on credit." An up-to-date version, captioned "He took in the 57th annual convention of the National Retail Merchants Association," might show a man shutting up shop altogether.

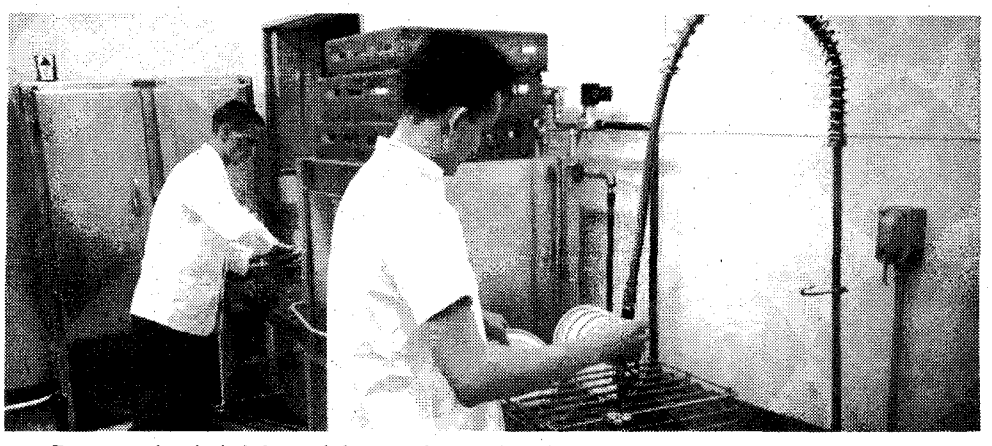
Besides the perennial hazards of the trade—inadequate markons, excessive markdowns, inventory shortages and unusual weather—NRMA's membership last week was given something new to worry about: "the need to redress the economic and political impoverishment of 40 million Americans."

In the words of Charles Y. Lazarus, president of the American Retail Federation: "Only five years ago, no one would have dreamed that the very hearts of many of our great cities would be destroyed by their own citizens. . . .No one would have dreamed that this could happen, yet it has happened. And what is worse, not only can it happen again, most people close to the situation feel that in less than a year it will happen again—only much worse—and that nothing is likely to prevent it . . . we are truly living on a volcano."

Rumblings of the same kind lately have burst out left and right. In October the White House launched a Test Program aimed at creating new job opportunities, through "maximum use of private industry," for an estimated half-million so-called hard-core unemployed. President Johnson around Christmas time personally exhorted businessmen "to help me go out here and find jobs for these people"; otherwise, he warned, "we are going to have to find jobs in the government for them." The week of January 8 the prestigious National Industrial Conference Board held a conclave on "Corporate Urban Programs—An Investment in Economic Progress and Social Order," to determine both what business is doing in this realm and "how to get on with the job."

A rolling bandwagon is an impressive spectacle; when the drumbeating starts, solid citizens sometimes are carried away. Nonetheless, like most political vehicles to emerge from Washington in recent years, this one strikes us as unsafe at any speed.

While loaded with fanfare, for example, the campaign is remarkably short of hard facts. Yet, to judge from the scanty data available, the cost of creating a single breadwinner ranges from roughly $15,000, if industry takes charge, to considerably more for a product of the Job Corps. By calling for employment at almost any price, the program in effect seeks to pressure private enterprise into paying for, and thus helping to perpetuate, such economically destructive mistakes of public policy as minimum wage laws, trade union barriers and decaying schools.



Taxpayer-funded job training projects like the Job Corps (above) already drain much from the economy.

By urging jobs not only for the unemployed but also for the unemployable, its advocates have launched an open assault on such cherished precepts of the free society as objective standards of performance, non-discrimination in hiring and firing, and reward for merit. The packaging is skillful and the wrapping glitters, but business is being sold a shoddy bill of goods.

Despite such caveats, a growing number of otherwise hardheaded prospects are buying. Both General Motors and Ford, for example, recently launched recruiting programs designed to attract riot-torn Detroit's hard-core jobless. For prospective applicants, Ford has done away with both written and oral examinations; GM has "liberalized its policies regarding education, prior work experience and police records."

Again, American Telephone & Telegraph Co. recently announced plans for the hiring and job training of more than 550 workers "who would not meet existing employment standards." Other firms have gone to greater lengths. Thus, Pick-N-Pay Supermarkets, in a formal pact with Martin Luther King, has agreed to provide several hundred new jobs for Negroes, "including six positions as store managers," within a year. Eastman Kodak, which won its battle with the militant FIGHT (see *Human Events,* May 13, 1967), but apparently aims to lose the war, has begun to promote the formation of "independent, locally owned businesses in Rochester's inner city," for which Kodak would offer "training, advice and consultation," and "consider itself a potential customer."

What all this will ultimately cost is far from clear. For one thing, nobody knows how many "hard-core unemployed" there are.

At the press conference called to unveil the Commerce Department's Test Program, a presidential assistant observed: "We have figures ranging up to 600-odd thousand. Depending on how they are defined, we have figures that talk in terms of 350,000. It really is a great numbers game."

Estimates of the cost per job also vary widely. *Fortune* magazine, which devotes a whole issue to Business and the Urban Crisis, cites Avco Corp., "which is establishing a project, with a federal training grant of $1.148 million and a direct investment of $2.3 million to employ 200 to 250 hard-core unemployed in the Roxbury section of Boston," or a commitment of roughly $15,000 per worker.

Jobs and jobholders, of course, may come and go: out of 250 "hard-core" people hired by General Motors in Pontiac last September, fewer than three-fourths remain on the payroll. On the best estimates, the cost of putting a half-million people to work would run into billions of dollars. A change in definition, to say nothing of a shift in the business cycle, might saddle business with an incalculable load.

Dollars and cents aside, a private WPA would underwrite a vast array of job-killing failures of public policy at every level of government.

Thus, the secretary of agriculture, by curtailing cotton acreage and forcing Southern sharecroppers off the land, has made a massive (albeit dimly) realized) contribution to the growing tension in the cities. "Urban renewal means Negro removal," cry civil rights groups in justifiable anger; yet the National Industrial Conference Board recently gave a platform to the man who unleashed the federal bulldozer.

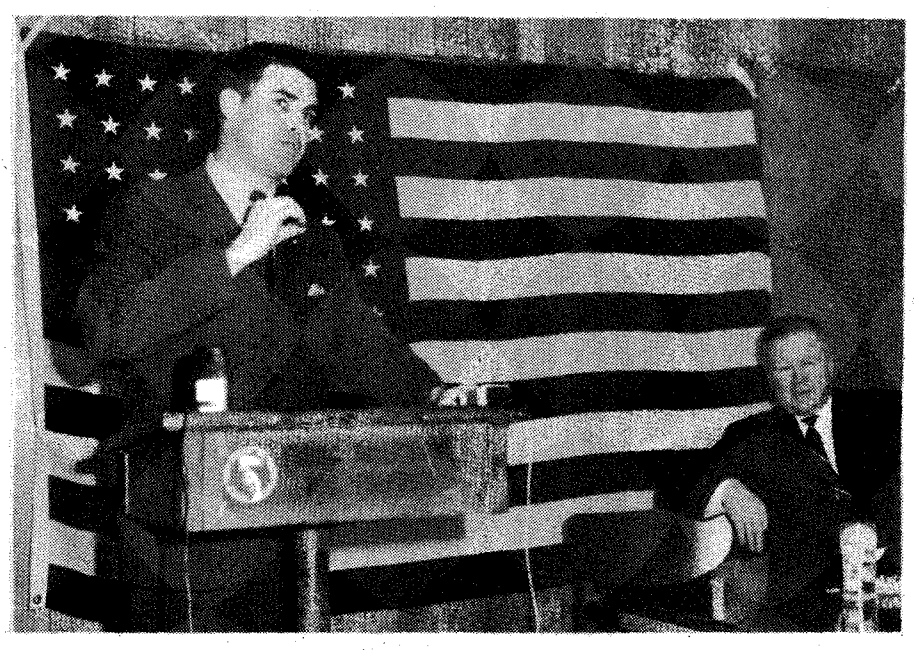
Every minimum wage law ever put on the books prices somebody out of the labor market; according to the National Federation of Independent Business, last winter's boost cost the nation half-a-million job opportunities. Should business stand ready to pick up the tab for the next round on February 1?

Though reading, writing and arithmetic are basic working tools, local high school systems throughout the country persist in turning out graduates ill-equipped either to think or provide for themselves. "We must try living with government, rather than fighting it," Mr. Lazarus urged his fellow merchants. Such a cozy arrangement would make business less a partner than an accomplice.

Like bad coin driving out good, it also would go a long way toward undercutting time-honored principles of competition and incentive.

In an open market, management, however prejudiced, has scant choice over the long haul but to seek out the most efficient labor force (it's no accident that the highest concentrations of bias are found in utilities, banks and other regulated and insulated lines of endeavor). Hence, to be meaningful, the practices cited above—lowering or scrapping of standards, creation of quota systems and the like—must discriminate against qualified workers, either by denying them jobs or by siphoning off part of their potential rewards.

With curious irony such favoritism also would turn the so-called hard-core unemployed (does that include American Indians, by the way?) into a new privileged class which need learn or achieve little to draw a paycheck. Private enterprise may be heading down the road to serfdom, but it needn't volunteer to pay for the trip.



Congressman Lukens addresses college students at the University of Plano in Texas, December 12, 1967

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—Hon. DONALD E. "BUZ" LUKENS,
Member of Congress

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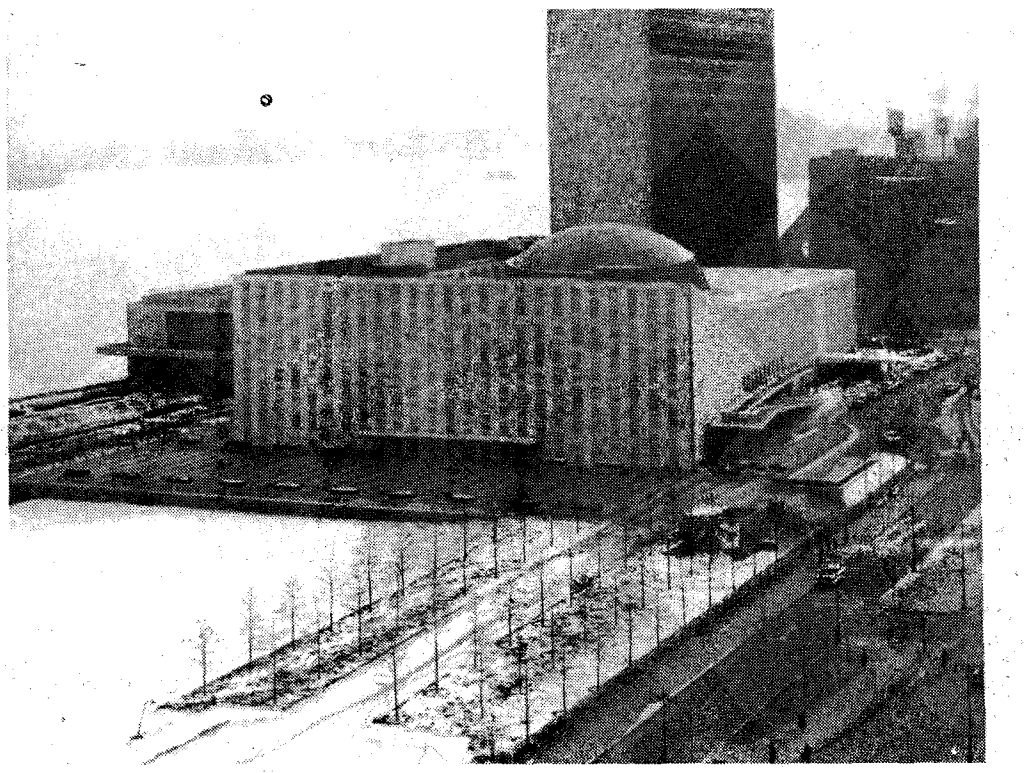

U.S. citizens have paid 44 per cent of the United Nations' expenses since its founding in 1946.

U.S. Taxpayers Have Poured $3 Billion Into U.N. Treasury

By WILLIAM FULTON

American taxpayers have poured nearly $3 billion into that dubious investment known as the United Nations since the experiment in world government started in 1946. They have contributed 44 per cent toward the total while the citizens of 122 other member countries have grudgingly coughed up the rest.

At the year's end the total contributions of all countries amounted to $6,629,600,000, while the United States share came to $2,916,766,000. But this is not all of the picture because there are hidden, long-overdue bills the international organization owes the United States.

For example, the United States has never been repaid for its highly expensive air-lift of the U.N. peacekeeping force in the turbulent Congo for four years or the dredging of the Suez Canal after the 1956 hostilities between the Israelis, British and French on the one hand and the Egyptians on the other.

Down through the years the United States has paid in full its assessed share of the regular budget for the United Nations, approximately one-third of the over-all levies. But in all categories the gifts go much higher.

Last year, for example, this country donated 65.43 per cent of all funds collected for the U.N. relief and works agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East. The United States has given $425,218,000 to maintain these Arab U.N. wards on a bare subsistence level since the inception of the program nearly 20 years ago.

Americans have paid nearly half the costs of peacekeeping ventures in the Congo, Middle East and Cyprus. Contemptuous refusal of the French and the Russians and other Communists to defray their fair shares has brought the U.N. to the brink of bankruptcy.

The United States has also donated $548,943,000, or 37.44 per cent toward the U.N. development program for underdeveloped countries. It has contributed 49.18 per cent toward the world food program.

A table giving the cumulative total for 1946-67 of United States contributions, drawn from official sources (in thousands of dollars) follows:

	1946-1967
REGULAR BUDGETS (ASSESSED):	
United Nations	$448,336
Food and Agriculture Organization	65,192
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	680
International Civil Aviation Organization	22,545
Joint Financing program	16,825
International Labor Organization	49,426
International Telecommunication Union	4,802
U.N. Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization	88,529
Universal Postal Union	523
World Health Organization	120,583
World Meteorological Organization	2,758
U.N. and Specialized Agencies	$820,199
UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING:	
United Nations Emergency Force	$ 87,640
United Nations Operation in the Congo	132,299
United Nations Force in Cyprus	33,354
United Nations Peacekeeping	$253,293
SPECIAL PROGRAMS (VOLUNTARY):	
United Nations Children's Fund	$252,904
U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	425,218
United Nations Development Program	548,943
U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Program	15,488
U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo	128,313
U.N.-FAO—World Food Program	98,139
U.N. Education and Training Program for South Africans	75
WHO—International Agency for Research on Cancer	375
U.N. Institute for Training and Research	900
International Refugee Organization	237,116
U.N. Korean Reconstruction Agency	92,903
U.N. Hungarian Refugee Relief	6,225
WHO—Special programs	21,175
UNESCO—Special programs	15,500
Special programs	$1,843,274
Total	$2,916,766

History will record whether American taxpayers have made a good investment or poured vast sums of money down a rat hole.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Which Advisers Will Nixon Listen to This Year?

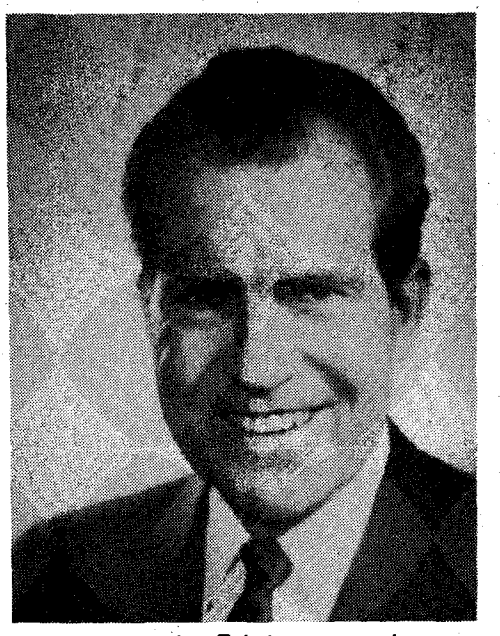
Will he take advantage of liberal disarray?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

When, for a time, it looked as if the Republican presidential nomination would fall to either Richard Nixon or Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, some observers worked overtime to paint the former vice president as a "moderate" who could save the GOP from the "far right" to which they have consigned most conservatives.

Mr. Reagan has, very wisely, decided to sit back until the primary dust settles before deciding what move he will take. With the candidacy of Gov. George Romney of Michigan moving inexorably to an eclipse, Dick Nixon seems to have a clear field. The only possible Republican that might dump him is Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York. Organized punditry has therefore shifted, once more railing at Mr. Nixon and loudly singing the praises of Mr. Rockefeller.

But the new hero of the pundits has, they fear, clay feet. By not being an overt candidate, he has won the praise and support of many Republican conservatives who would normally express themselves in highly negative terms of the man who did the most to torpedo Barry Goldwater in 1964. But it is no secret that the privileged sanctuary that has harbored the New York governor may be violated in the weeks or months to come.



Columnist de Toledano wonders "whether Nixon will blow the ball game in the next months by antagonizing old friends and supporters."

More than one conservative group working quietly but with determination, has begun to look carefully at the record of the Rockefeller administration, beginning with the troubles of his former state chairman and the liquor authorities. Gov. Rockefeller cannot be touched personally by that scandal, but the episode casts serious doubts on the governor's abilities to run a tight—and clean—ship.

In view of Mr. Nixon's undoubted strength in New Hampshire and Wisconsin—two states whose primaries have considerable impact on public thinking—his chances for the Republican presidential nomination seem excellent. Whether Mr. Nixon will blow the ball game in the next months by antagonizing old friends and supporters—something he has done in the past—is not beyond the realm of possibility. But the political handicappers continue to consider him the favorite.

The new strategy, therefore, is to capitalize on Lyndon Johnson's unpopularity by writing of Mr. Nixon as a kind of mirror-image of the President. If this can be sold successfully to the public, Mr. Nixon's chances, if he is nominated, are nil. For the public will always take an incumbent over a challenger unless the issues and personalities involved are drastically dissimilar.

Mr. Nixon, it should be noted, has contributed to the efforts of those who would depict him in the role of a minor-league Lyndon Johnson. He is more hawkish than the President, but not so much so that he can stir up those who want a tougher line in the Vietnamese war. He has made gestures to the liberal wing of the GOP in ways that have blurred his differences with the President. And he has desisted from the kind of frequent and pointed comment of the Johnson Administration's foibles and shortcomings.

This may protect him from the more extreme attacks of his opponents. But it plumps him right in the middle of the ideological battles that now divide the liberals, Democratic and Republican alike. And it offers arguments to those who have always complained, often without justice, that Mr. Nixon's positions on those issues which divide Americans are hard to determine and fuzzily defined.

Adding up the pros and cons, the shrewdest of political observers here in Washington—whether among professional politicians or the press veterans of other years, other wars—are more than suggesting that Mr. Nixon's victories in the primaries and presumably at the Miami Beach convention will be worth the candle.

Among Republicans—who have no interest in objective assessments of the political situation—there is a growing belief that their party's nominee, whoever he may be, can win only if he lashes out immediately and with no let-up against the Administration and its record. Of all the candidates assembled, only Ronald Reagan has shown that he has the stomach to take on the Establishment. Therefore there will be pressure on Mr. Nixon, as the front-runner, to take a page from the political handbook of a man who electrified Republican voters in the waning days of the 1964 campaign and who has gone on to make history in California.

Will Mr. Nixon take the advice? Past performance would answer in the negative. But Mr. Nixon now wants the presidency more than he has wanted anything in his life. A backward look at his form chart for 1960 may convince him that the time has come for a change.

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NO N.H. DEBATES—Gov. George Romney opened his campaign for the GOP presidential nomination in New Hampshire on January 12 by challenging Richard Nixon to a series of "timely and needed" debates. But Nixon, who is expected to announce his candidacy within the next few weeks, will not take up the challenge, according to columnist Victor Lasky. Nixon, says Lasky, a newsman close to the former vice president, "does not intend to debate with George Romney in New Hampshire because he believes the thin fabric of Republican unity would be shredded by airing any differences the two presidential contenders may have with each other." Romney know he is behind in the polls, but he recalls four years ago. "What Nixon wants to avoid," says Lasky, "is the sort of name-calling contest that caused Granite State voters to say, in effect, a plague on both the Rockefeller and Goldwater houses."

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The Land of the Shanty, Home of the Oppressed

How Soviet Television Pictures Life in the U.S.

By EDITH EFRON

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Here is a description of one of the most powerful nations on earth:

"It is called a parliamentary democracy, but that is a sham. It's a dictatorship. There is no individual freedom. Militarists, and a small power elite that controls the means of production, rule the country and oppress the people. There is no middle class. The mass of the people are very poor and rebellious. It is a vicious, imperialist power."

Anyone who supposes that this is a description of the Soviet Union may go to the back of the class. The name of this nation is the United States.

Or, to be precise, this is the weird picture of the U.S.A. that emerges from the Communist party-controlled television screen in the Soviet Union. It was described by Nikita Moravsky, senior editor of the Russian service of the Voice of America, who left the Soviet Union last April after two years as cultural attache at the U.S. Embassy. This image of the brutal American "dictatorship" populated by hungry and oppressed "masses" is beamed daily by the Soviets to an estimated 50 to 80 million people.

Russian TV, like all other institutions in the USSR, is an instrument of party ideology. It is officially instructed to pound Communist doctrine and Communist goals into the heads of its citizenry, and it fulfills this "educational" function every day. One of its unchanging targets is the Western Enemy, namely us; and one of its highest purposes is to develop and sustain a paranoid hatred of the U.S.

According to journalists and to some of this country's foremost experts on the Soviet Union, all of whom have spent anywhere from one to five years in Russia, there is a consistent impression of the image of the U.S. that comes over the Soviet screen.

One expert on the subject is Dabney Chapman, deputy chief of the European division of the Voice of America, just back from a year in the Soviet Union, where he was first secretary of the U.S. Embassy.

He was expelled from the Soviet Union in retaliation for the ouster from the United States of two Soviet espionage agents. His summary of Soviet "coverage" of the U.S. is much like Moravsky's: "Anywhere from 5 per cent to 35 per cent of the news and commentary on any evening attacks the U.S. directly or by implication. They attack us as a dictatorial society. They never mention the middle class or the average income.

"They show belly-bloated Negro babies and tin shanties—and this is supposed to represent our working classes. The over-all focus is on our poverty, racism and police brutality."

Another top Soviet expert, who prefers to remain anonymous, elaborates in greater detail: "The vision of America that comes over the Russian screen is that of a pre-industrial society. Freedom is only for a very few rich people. The vast middle class is simply not there. Most people are very poor. It's a highly materialistic society, dominated by avarice. It's a society in a high state of turmoil, with rampant crime, rioting and so on. The over-all picture is hunger, avarice, tyranny, chaos.

"Two principal subthemes dominate. One is imperialism—the Viet Nam situation, and personal attacks on President Johnson. The second is Nazism. They portray us as a pro-Nazi people. They say we support the neo-Nazi revanchist groups in Germany. They portray the Nazi movement in the states as a substantial political movement. This constant stress on our pro-Nazi attitudes is designed to make Russian viewers feel we are deeply inimical to them. There is no 'spirit of Glassboro' on Soviet TV."

If this calculated portrait of a pro-Nazi tyranny is not sufficient to inspire the desired hatred of the U.S. in the Soviet viewer, the virulent style of presentation helps it along.

One of the big current documentary series on Soviet TV is called "Facts Are Stubborn Things." This series concentrates, says one observer, on the "bestiality, danger and inanity of non-Soviet society."

Here's a brief description by a U.S. observer of the atmospheric quality of one show: "The potion of vindictive hatred served the Soviet viewer was brewed with the wartime propagandist's disregard of niceties. It simmered with grotesque stereotypes. The vituperative commentary blended forcefully with horror scenes on film to create a feeling of imminent threat from irrational outside forces."

A Russian family watches television in a Moscow apartment. As author notes, the Soviet presentation of American life is harshly and deliberately distorted.

The Soviet line on the U.S. as a world power is well known in this country, particularly in relation to Viet Nam. It can be thus summarized: The U.S. is a vicious imperialist power, led by a murdering President, which is massacring innocent, peace-loving civilians in Viet Nam out of sheer power lust and racial hatred.

This line is pounded into the Russian viewer over and over again. It is accompanied by photographs of President Johnson speaking against a backdrop of U.S. bombers, close-ups of American boys being shoveled into coffins to the tune of honky-tonk music, corpses of Vietnamese women and babies, and, of course, photographs of the rioting "masses" demanding peace on the U.S. mainland.

The Soviet approach to U.S. domestic life is not so well-known here. It can best be communicated by a few examples from TV programs:

On U.S. Children: Veteran reporter Jack Iams thus summarized part of a documentary: "Only in private schools for the rich could American children get a reasonable education, said the narrator. Their public schools taught them nothing. Furthermore, he said, American children were not nearly as well dressed as Russian children—and at this point, the still shots of the American youngsters concentrated on those in poor clothing, with emphasis on Negroes."

On the Statue of Liberty: Another documentary segment purported to describe Fascism in the U.S. According to a wire-service reporter, "It began with coverage of the American Nazi party. Immediately after a picture of the Statue of Liberty was shown, and the announcer said, 'The raised arm and torch resembles the customary salute of the Fascists.'"

On the National Guard: A segment of one documentary presented "a sociological analysis of U.S. society." "This analysis," says one U.S. observer, "boiled down to the fundamental that the U.S. is breeding killers. It was followed by films of a New York National Guard unit in rigorous training. National Guard units under Johnson's orders, said the narrator, stand ready in every city to quell uprisings of workers and Negroes. . . . This was linked to photographs of white mercenaries fighting in the Congo. The ominous conclusion was: 'Murder pays well in the West.'"

U.S. Labor-Management Relations: Dabney Chapman thus describes a play he saw on Russian TV: "Its theme was unemployment and the evils of the capitalist system. The hero was a middle-aged man. It was three months to go before he was eligible for his pension. The bosses framed him so he wouldn't get the pension. All the no-good executives chewed gum and looked like the Mafia."

Do the Russians ever say anything favorable at all about the U.S.? Almost never. Says Gayle Hollander, a Soviet-communications authority at MIT's Center for International Studies: "The intent is usually not to be complimentary. In some rare cases, references might be favorable, but it would always be about a minor detail."

How much of this calculated falsity is believed by the Russian viewers? The question is a tricky one to answer. No one interviewed could answer with scientific certainty. But there's a good deal of educated speculation—and we offer it as that:

Soviet experts point out that contradictions constantly emerge in Soviet coverage of the U.S., which can be quite enlightening to the Russian people if they catch them.

Says Mrs. Hollander: "What they put on the air often has implications they don't intend, but that a viewer can see. Their point will be that the U.S. government is dictatorial and that it doesn't listen to the people. Then they'll show protest marchers. Well, the Russian viewer might well ask: 'How come *they* can protest? What would happen to me if *I* tried to protest?'"

Dabney Chapman: "Soviet viewers are enormously ignorant about our society. On the other hand there's a lot of cracker-barrel conversation. If somebody's second cousin knows an American, that guy's brain will be *picked!* Facts do go out on the grapevine, and they heavily undercut the propaganda. But by how much? I don't know."

Nikita Moravsky provides this answer: "I suppose some percentage of Russians might conceivably accept what's on the set. But, basically, the credibility of the Soviet news media is not accepted in many quarters, even among the most naive and uneducated masses. And information is getting into the country in huge doses.

"There are foreign radio broadcasts—transistor radios are a fad among the younger generation. There are occasional foreign magazines. And there are tourists. All the Russians have to see is the *bodies*—the clothing, the *shoes!* I sometimes think they have the sneaking impression that *every* American is practically a millionaire!

"As for the sophisticated Russians, the professionals, the bureaucrats—they know the most about the U.S., and none of them swallows it whole.

"But the steady drumfire of all this propaganda does rub off. It leaves a residue. I suppose what you have, ultimately, is a diffuse and contradictory picture of the United States."

There is one factor above all, it appears, that gives the distorted Russian treatment of the U.S. its potency. It's our own self-criticism.

The Russians document their charges against us right out of our own newspapers and TV programs. It is difficult for Soviet viewers, who are locked inside a propaganda prison, to know how the party officials are distorting this imported material. And it is difficult for them to disbelieve the monstrous charges leveled against the United States when these charges seem to come from the very lips of President Johnson, President Kennedy, Secretary Dean Rusk, Sen. Robert Kennedy, Sen. Stuart Symington, Sen. Wayne Morse, Sen. Fulbright, and the New York *Times*—to name some of the Soviets' favorite "informants" about the cruelty, disease and tyranny of the United States.

"They're clever in their selection," says Chapman. "They stick with statistics and quotes from American sources. I don't know how many times I've heard President Kennedy quoted on Russian TV, saying that there are 20 million poor in the United States. They're always condemning us out of our own mouths."

There is a good deal of talk, in the press and TV of this country, about the need for developing "mutual understanding" between us and the Soviets. The unfortunate fact is that among Soviet leaders there's nothing very "mutual" about this goal. In the USSR we are the Enemy. While we've been gawking at a smiling "Ivan Ivanovich" on U.S. networks, Soviet TV has been demonstrating vividly that the last thing on earth that interests the Soviet hierachy is allowing "Ivan Ivanovich" to understand us.

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Example of Virginia Budget

Why State Spending Keeps Going Up

By KEN THOMPSON

Editor's Note:

In their attempts to defend and justify rapid increases in federal spending, liberals frequently cite the fact that in recent years spending by the states has expanded even more rapidly. Want to know why? As Ken Thompson, associate editor of the Richmond **Times-Dispatch** and a frequent contributor to **Human Events**, points out in the following article, one of the principal reasons is that the federal government is forcing the states to spend more money. His dissection of Virginia's new $3-billion budget for the next two years, and the role which the federal government has played in dictating the terms of that budget, proves one thing at least: If the greatest Virginian of them all, George Washington, were alive today, he would certainly be astonished and dismayed to discover how many dollars have crossed the Potomac since, as tradition has it, he threw that first one over nearly two centuries ago.

On January 10 Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. shocked many Virginians when he presented his budget calling for expenditures of approximately $3 billion over the next two years. Citizens and taxpayers of the Old Dominion, who have grown accustomed to frugality in the statehouse, were not only jolted by the size of the budget; they were startled to learn that many of the increases in spending have been dictated not in Richmond, but in Washington.

For the governor's new budget is not merely a blueprint of the state's income and outgo over the next two years; it is a graphic illustration of the extent to which the federal government has moved in on state and local governments, influencing if not controlling the budget-making process at every turn.

By actual count, the word "federal" appears exactly 100 times in the new budget, a relatively brief document containing 13 pages of text and 27 pages of charts and statistical tables. The word "state" itself is used only slightly more frequently in this, a balance sheet supposedly dealing only with the finances of a state government.

The total budget calls for spending of slightly over $3 billion during the 1968-69 biennium. Of that figure, some $591 million—or nearly 20 per cent—is represented by federal grants of one sort or another. This is $100 million more than the state received from Washington during the past two years, and covers everything from agriculture and animal health to water control and welfare.

One of the major increases is for "Medicaid," the new federal program of health care for the "medically indigent" of all ages which was authorized by Congress three years ago in a seemingly unimportant "sleeper" clause tacked onto the Medicare act. Although the Medicaid program will not be started in Virginia until July 1, 1969, the governor has allocated some $55 million to cover its cost during the second year of his budget alone. Of this amount, Washington will contribute $35 million, and Virginia will put up $20 million.

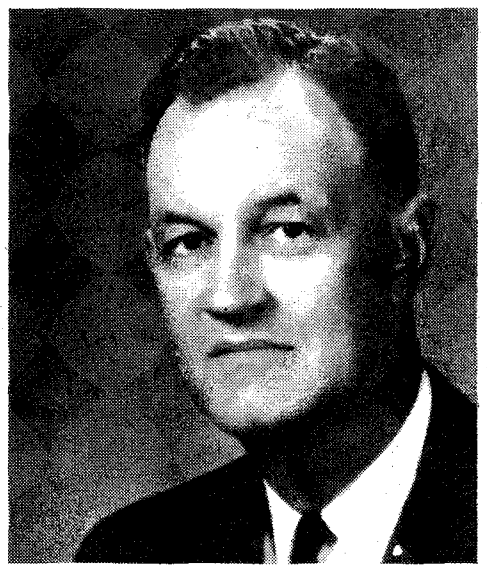
In his message to the General Assembly on January 10, Gov. Godwin made it perfectly clear that the state was not anxious to sign up for Medicaid. Unfortunately, he explained, it has no choice. The alternative is not simply declining to "take advantage" of federal funds that are available under the program. If that were the case, Virginia probably would gladly decline.

For, as the governor told the members of the legislature, the cost of Medicaid to the state itself "will certainly multiply drastically in the years ahead."

The problem is that if Virginia does not sign up for Medicaid by July 1, 1969, it will not only be passing up all this new "free" money from Washington; it will, in fact, be penalized by the loss of some $30 million in federal funds for *other* health and welfare programs in which the state is already participating. As is frequently the case, Washington is using the stick as well as the carrot to coerce the states to take its money.

Medicaid, of course, is only one of many federal programs which influence state budgetary and policy decisions considerably. There are, in fact, few decisions which state officials can make today without taking Washington into account.

Gov. Godwin's "special fund" budget, which covers nearly 60 per cent of total expenditures, lists 55 different state agencies expected to receive and disburse federal grants in the next two years. In handling these funds and the strings that go with them, state officials obviously must share with Washington control over these programs.



Virginia's state government under Gov. Mills Godwin (above) has problems in common with all states because of large doses of federal aid with strings attached.

And it is undeniable that the federal government exercises an indirect, negative influence over the remaining state programs and agencies it does not subsidize. For when Washington dangles the bait of "free" funds on a matching basis for one program, the states are prone to pour their own money into that venture rather than into another activity they might prefer to support, but for which federal matching dollars are not available. This explains in large measure why the most staggering increases in Virginia's new budget are earmarked for welfare purposes. That's where the federal action is.

Manna from Washington, of course, sometimes takes care of expenses which the states would otherwise have to meet, enabling them to spend their money elsewhere. Thus Medicaid, for example, will relieve Virginia and its localities of some of the health care costs they have been assuming—although the reduction is more than offset by the state's contribution to this new program and other added expenses it will have to meet which are directly attributable to the effects of Medicaid.

Usually, federal programs are responsible for increasing spending by the states. In the new Virginia budget there are numerous items involving increased outlays for which Washington is directly responsible. Some are the result of new programs or rules which require the state to expand its services and/or boost their costs.

A few examples: the new air and water pollution acts and the meat inspection program, as well as the recent increases in the minimum wage and Social Security taxes which have added to the state's costs as an employer.

In at least a half-dozen other cases cited in the budget—most of them involving public assistance programs—there have been reductions in the level of federal contributions for which the state apparently feels it must compensate.

Several days before Gov. Godwin presented his new budget to the General Assembly, I sat next to him at a luncheon for members of the press in the Executive Mansion. He told me that one of the most disturbing things he had encountered in his dealings with Washington was the tendency of the federal government to launch new programs and to put up most of the money for them for a few years, then dump the problem gradually or suddenly in the states' laps. By that time, the citizens have become accustomed to receiving the benefits of these programs, and state officials, he said, are afraid that they would be committing political suicide if they discontinued or curtailed them.

Many Americans, no doubt, regard federal grants as a great windfall. Even in Virginia, where frugality and other old-fashioned habits still prevail, plenty of citizens have been pleased to learn that Washington will underwrite 20 per cent of the state's expenses over the next two years. After all, $591 million is certainly a great deal of money.

Virginians, however, also send a great deal of tax money to Washington—considerably more than they can ever hope to recover in federal grants. This is one of the reasons it is so difficult to pass up Washington's dollars when they become available. Since it's really our money, why shouldn't we try to get some of it back?

Whether they are viewed as a curse or a godsend, there is no question that we pay a high price in obtaining Washington dollars through the loss of control over our own affairs.

Two years ago, the Richmond *News Leader,* in an editorial, evoked the memory of George Troup, an almost forgotten governor of Georgia some 140 years ago, who carved a niche for himself in history as one of the staunchest states' righters of them all. Gov. Troup, it seems, regarded Georgia and the United States as equal sovereigns, and he was fond of dispatching correspondence to officials in Washington prefaced with a notation that this was a communication "from my government to your government."

The paper was reminded of Gov. Troup in its meditations on the radical changes that have taken place in the relationship between the states and the federal government. "History," it noted, "does have a way of making some curious full circles. . . . Once again the states fall into an oddly sovereign role—not as equals, alas, but more as suppliant and underdeveloped nations, seeking a little foreign aid."

The *News Leader* went on to note that five states, at that point, had already set up small "embassies" in Washington, and predicted that eventually every state would have an "ambassador" there, or at least a "consul," to keep a sharp eye out for federal largess.

In the short span of two years since that prediction was made, the number of state "embassies" in Washington has increased sharply. Virginia is one of the few states which has not yet sent an "ambassador" to the Nation's Capital with formal credentials. That is not to say that the Old Dominion has neglected the business of scouting for dollars on the other side of the Potomac.

The state now maintains a Division of Planning, one of whose functions is to keep track of proliferating federal programs, and to prepare the many applications and exhibits required to take advantage of them. It is worth noting that a sizable portion of the divisions' budget is itself underwritten by Washington, and the federal contribution is going up—from $54,000 last year to over $260,000 annually this year and in the coming biennium.

In a word, Washington is helping to pay the cost of getting more money out of Washington, a situation that many of Virginia's statesmen of an earlier era would have found absurd.

Harmful New Minimum Wage Hike

A leading economist charged last week that an increase in the minimum wage, scheduled for February 1, will severely injure the very people it is designed to help. The University of Chicago's Yale Brozen said that Negro teen-agers would be particularly victimized by the hike to $1.60 an hour.

"The greatest help we can give the Negro today is to repeal the statutory minimum wage," Brozen said. "By raising it, we are foreclosing opportunity for Negro teen-agers who cannot get the jobs where they could learn the skills that would enable them to earn far more than the minimum."

Citing government figures, Brozen said that unemployment among Negro youths has been rising dangerously since the minimum wage was raised to $1 an hour in 1956. Prior to 1956, Brozen said, government reports indicated almost identical unemployment rates—about 10 per cent—for white and non-white male youth.

By October 1967, however, unemployment was running nearly three times as high among Negroes as whites. Only 10.7 per cent of the white youths were jobless, compared to 28.3 per cent in the non-white community.

Unrealistic minimum wage rates, Brozen said, have forced landowners and small businessmen to automate their operations earlier than they would have otherwise. This, in turn, has led to unemployment in rural areas and forced jobless Negroes to seek opportunity in overcrowded big-city slums. But here, too, jobs are scarce for those without skills, Brozen indicated.

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'The Lawbreakers' Reviewed

Lack of Moral Leadership, Not Poverty, Is Crime's Root

By VICTOR LASKY

The fact that people can't walk at night in the streets of many of our cities without fear of being molested—or worse—may well evolve into a major issue in the forthcoming presidential election.

Even Lyndon Johnson concedes the necessity of doing something drastic to eradicate criminal activities which, by the President's estimate, cost the American people $27 billion a year.

But the President, like so many other troubled liberals, hasn't the foggiest notion of what is behind the rapidly soaring crime statistics. Of course the liberals have their perennial sociological cliches—"poverty," "the conditions that breed crime," "ghettos," and "not enough welfare programs."

They would do well to read a new book, *The Lawbreakers* (Arlington House, 266 pages, $5.95), which may help shake them out of their old-fashioned ideas on the causes of crime. For, according to authors M. Stanton Evans and Margaret Moore, the current crime wave stems not so much from poverty as from a collapse of moral leadership.

Here's what they say: "When a group of influential members of society sets out to tear down standards of morality, preach that there is no objective measure of right and wrong, that religion is mumbo-jumbo and that deviant behavior should be looked upon with toleration, it is reasonable to suppose that immorality, irreligion and deviant behavior will become increasingly apparent."

The authors argue forcefully, and with statistical backing, that crime is not necessarily the result of poverty and deprivation. They note the simple fact that there was so much less crime during the Great Depression. If the poverty argument is correct, the 1930s should have been marked by considerably more crime per capita than the 1960s. But just the reverse is true.

The last 30 years have been marked by "strenuous reform in the application of criminal law," according to Evans and Mrs. Moore. The aim was to lower the crime rate, but just the opposite has occurred. "With every improvement in the protection of criminal civil liberties, and every advance made in the field of human penology, we have added another notch on the upward movement of the crime graph. . . .The criminals have more liberty and are better treated, but the rest of us have less liberty and are treated worse. And the point of the system. . .was supposed to be the other way around."

Probably the most important section of this most interesting book has to do with the famed Indianapolis anti-crime crusade, which began in 1962 with 30 citizens and now numbers 50,000. Working on a person-to-person basis, the crusaders helped one dropout here and one delinquent there. Next, they made it their business to learn the problems of police and public officials. Then they supplemented the work of these officials in many helpful ways.

The Lawbreaker, therefore, is also the story of a significant community action program to combat crime. The authors know their subject well. M. Stanton Evans is the prize-winning editor of the Indianapolis *News.* Mrs. Margaret Moore, Evans' mother-in-law, serves on the promotion staff of both Indianapolis newspapers, the *News* and the *Star.* For the past six years she has been coordinator of the Indianapolis anti-crime crusade which has been cited by President Johnson's Crime Commission as "the most dramatic example in the country of a citizens' group that has addressed itself forcefully and successfully to the problems of crime and criminal justice."

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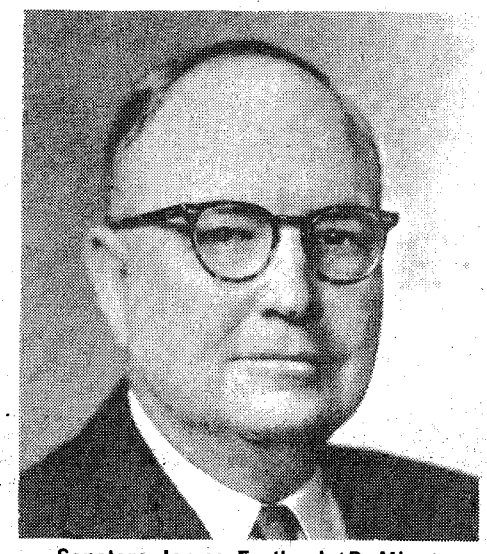
REDS IN PLANTS — "In response to [the recent Supreme Court decision which would allow Communists to work in defense installations], I've introduced HR 14675, which would establish a new central security office to coordinate the administration of federal personnel loyalty and security programs, and to prescribe procedures for the hearing and review of cases arising from such programs. By this means I would hope to re-establish a ban on Communists working in defense industries or for the government directly."—Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.)



Senators James Eastland (D.-Miss.) and Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) note that LBJ's bill to protect civil rights workers could also be used to shield racial agitators like H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael.

Civil Rights Bill Foes Come Up With New Weapon

Will use LBJ's call for local 'disorder' control

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson's decision to leave the problem of race rioters to local law enforcement officials has presented a strong new weapon to Senate opponents of one of his major civil rights proposals.

They are now using the President's anti-crime statement in their fight to kill or drastically alter legislation intended to protect individuals in the exercise of a wide variety of civil rights.

Headed by Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, these opponents are attacking the Administration's measure in the Senate, where it is now being debated. The group is circulating a memorandum charging, "The provisions of this [civil rights] bill could be used to harass and deter local law enforcement officers."

The Eastland group memo calls attention to the President's declaration in his State of the Union address, "Those who preach disorder and those who preach violence must know that local authorities are able to resist them swiftly, to resist them sternly, and to resist them decisively." Then it warns:

"It is manifestly unfair to put these local officials in the front line of the struggle to maintain a society of law and order while placing them under the terrible omnipresent threat of being hailed into federal court on a criminal charge because the attorney general determines they had used an unreasonable amount of force in suppressing a riot."

To rule out this "threat," the Eastland group will attempt to add to the Administration's civil rights proposal an amendment written into a similar bill on the House floor. It provides:

" . . . nothing within this section shall be construed so as to deter any law enforcement officer from lawfully carrying out the lawful duties of his office and no such officer shall be considered to be in violation of this section for carrying out the lawful duties of his office or enforcing lawful ordinances and laws of the U.S. or their political subdivisions."

In addition to this protection for local law enforcement officers, the Eastland group will try to add to the Senate bill another House-passed amendment, designed to make sure the bill isn't used to protect agitators such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, the "Black Power" militants.

This amendment, which obtained overwhelming Republican support in the House, states:

"As used in this section, the term 'engaged in speech or peaceful assembly' shall not mean the urging, instigating or inciting of other persons to riot or to commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot."

Both of these House-approved amendments were defeated by narrow margins in the Senate Judiciary Committee, which cleared the controversial civil rights measure by a cliff-hanging 8-to-7 vote.

In mounting their campaign the Eastland group will attempt to label the Administration's civil rights proposal publicly as "a protection measure for agitators like Brown and Carmichael."

This attack plan is clearly indicated in the minority report prepared by Senators Eastland and Strom Thurmond, (R.-S.C.), which charges:

"This bill will give added protection to roving fomentors of violence, such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

"Under its terms and provisions, if a person had been present during the inflammatory speech of H. Rap Brown which led to the Cambridge, Md., riots on July 24, 1967, and, becoming enraged at the inflammatory statements made by Brown, had shouted a threat to him from the audience, that person could be tried under this act and fined up to $1,000 and imprisoned for one year.

"If such person had jumped up on the platform and struck Brown, giving him a bloody nose, he could be punished by 10 years in prison and fined up to $10,000. No punishment could be imposed on H. Rap Brown under these circumstances."

The Eastland group is also planning to offer the House-passed anti-riot bill as an amendment to the civil rights measure. Senators Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), and Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), co-authors of the Administration's bill, blocked a similar effort in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Since the House by a 347-to-70 vote passed the anti-riot bill last July, Senators Kennedy and Hart have also succeeded in keeping the Judiciary Committee from reporting it out as a separate bill.

Unless it is set aside for other legislation, Senate debate on the civil rights proposal could tie up that body until next spring. Since liberal supporters are planning to try to attach an "open housing" amendment to the bill, both supporters and opponents are threatening to "debate the measure for months."

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Election Year Information

This is the third installment in the five-part **Human Events** series designed to provide our readers with the statistical and legal information they might need for this election year.

Below are listed, state by state, the various methods whereby a candidate for the U.S. House, U.S. Senate, governor or state legislature gets on the primary election ballot.

In a separate chart on this page are listed the dates for every state primary and runoff election this year and whether primary write-ins are permitted.

On the following page is a presidential primary chart giving the dates for these contests, the filing deadlines, information on whether the candidate's consent is needed and the result of the 1964 primary results.

How Candidates Get On the Ballot

ALABAMA: File declaration of candidacy with chairman of state executive committee not later than March 1.

ALASKA: File declaration of candidacy with secretary of state on or before May 1. Independent ("no-party") candidate–file petition signed by certain number of qualified voters, with its acceptance signed by proposed candidate, with secretary of state on or before June 1.

ARIZONA: Anyone desiring to become a candidate at a primary for a party or a nonpartisan nomination and to have his name printed on the ballot, shall file a nomination petition signed by the candidate, naming the party of which he desires to become a candidate, or that he desires to become a nonpartisan candidate. The nomination petition of a congressional candidate shall be filed with the secretary of state, that of a legislatorial candidate with the clerk of the board of supervisors. In addition, a nomination paper is required, with signatures of qualified electors of candidate's party. These items are to be filed between June 11 and July 11.

ARKANSAS: Candidate must file party pledge with secretary of state party committee not later than May 1.

CALIFORNIA: Declaration of candidacy may be made by sponsors in his behalf, in which later case candidate's affidavit of acceptance shall be filed with the declaration. A candidate who personally declares his candidacy shall cause sponsor certificates to be executed by his sponsors. Such certificates, with required number of signatures, must be delivered to county clerk of county in which sponsor resides for filing with secretary of state by March 22. Likewise, declaration of candidacy by candidate personally, shall be delivered to county clerk of county in which candidate resides by March 22 for filing with secretary of state. No candidate's name may be printed on the ballot to be used at a direct primary unless declaration is filed between February 26 and March 27.

COLORADO: Party candidate for primary–certificate of designation for candidates selected by assembly of political party–all candidates who receive 20 per cent or more of the votes of the delegates to such assembly shall be certified by its presiding officer and secretary for a place on the direct primary ballot. Only one ballot is taken upon candidates for each office. Certificate of designation must certify that the candidate has been a member of the party for period of time required by law. A party assembly shall be held no later than July 20. Acceptance of nomination by candidate designated by party assembly must be filed with secretary of state within seven days after its adjournment. Congressional and legislatorial candidates may be placed on direct primary ballot by a petition signed by electors resident within each congressional district. Acceptance of nomination by candidate nominated by petition must be indorsed on every petition before filing. Certificate of designation and petition should be filed with secretary of state no later than July 27.

CONNECTICUT: Party-indorsed candidates for governor and United States senator are chosen by state conventions according to party rules. Party-indorsed candidates for U.S. representative and legislatorial candidates from districts comprising more than one town are chosen at district conventions. Such state or district conventions must be convened not earlier than June 1 and closed not later than July 15. Within 48 hours after the close of any state or district convention the chairman of such convention shall deliver a certified list of the candidates indorsed at such convention and also of any candidates receiving at least 20 per cent of the convention vote. A convention candidate who has received at least 20 per cent of the convention vote may petition for a primary provided he files a primary petition containing the prescribed number of signatures of party-enrolled members with the respective registrars by the 14th day following the close of the convention. Primaries for state and district offices are on the eighth Wednesday following the close of the state convention.

Primaries, if any, for legislatorial candidates chosen from districts composed of a single town or part of a single town are on September 26, in the case of the party whose candidate for governor polled the highest number of votes, and on September 24, in the case of any other parties. Indorsements are made by caucus, town committee, or convention, as the party rules prescribe, not earlier than the 49th nor later than the 35th day before the primary. Any eligible member of the party may petition for a primary provided he files a primary petition containing the prescribed number of signatures with the registrars not later than the 21st day before the primary.

DELAWARE: Certificate of nomination to be filed by presiding officer and secretary of the state party convention or committee with clerk of the peace by September 1, unless Sunday or holiday, in which case next day which is neither Sunday nor holiday.

FLORIDA: Qualification papers to be filed with secretary of state between March 19 and April 2.

GEORGIA: Candidates shall qualify for primary according to party rules between April 29 and June 13.

HAWAII: Nominating papers signed by qualified electors of candidate's party shall be filed with lieutenant governor by September 5.

IDAHO: In order to be considered by his party's indorsing assembly, a candidate must file a declaration of candidacy, to which is appended a notarized certificate and a petition signed by qualified voters, to the secretary of state between May 1 and May 7. Unless only one candidate has filed a declaration for an office and a petition as noted above, all candidates (at least two) who received 20 per cent or more of the votes of the delegates to such assembly shall be certified by the chairman and the secretary of such assembly to the secretary of state for a place on the primary ballot. A state party assembly shall meet on June 14th and 15th to indorse and select national and state candidates for the primaries. Certificates of nomination shall be certified "forthwith" to the secretary of state after the adjournment of the state party assembly, by the chairman and the secretary of said assembly. Candidates for national or state office who have filed declaration of candidacy and submitted to a state assembly, who received at least 10 per cent of the votes cast on the ballot on which the candidates of such assembly were nominated for such office, may be nominated by petition. Such candidates shall file with the secretary of state an additional certified declaration of candidacy, to which is appended a petition signed by qualified voters. Such additional declaration, certification, and petition shall be filed not later than July 2.

ILLINOIS: Party candidate for primary–petitions for nomination must be signed by qualified primary electors of his party and filed with secretary of state between March 18 and March 25.

INDIANA: Party candidate for nomination for U.S. senator and for governor by state convention–file declaration of candidacy, by the day next preceding such convention, with secretary of party state central committee. Candidates for U.S. representative and legislatorial candidates file declarations of candidacy with secretary of state before the primary.

IOWA: Party candidate for primary–nomination papers–signatures required–file with secretary of state between June 10 and June 30. Affidavit by candidate of eligibility to party candidacy should be filed with nomination papers. Minor party may nominate one candidate for each office by convention or caucus. Candidate receiving highest number of votes at primary shall be the party nominee, provided he received at least 35 per cent of all votes cast by his party. When no nomination was made in primary for congressional or legislatorial office, because of failure of any candidate to receive legally required percentage of votes cast by his party for such candidates, each party shall hold conventions in counties, or districts composed of more than one county, or statewide, depending upon the offices, for the purpose of making such nominations. The state convention of a party shall not make a nomination for U.S. senator unless in the primary a person seeking such nomination received a certain percentage of the total party vote for governor in the last general election. A candidate whose name is not printed on the official ballot must, in order to be nominated, receive such number of votes as will equal a certain percentage of the whole number cast for governor at the last general election in the state, or district of the state, as the case may be, on the ticket of the party with which such candidate affiliates. If the county or state convention was held preceding the primary, the delegates to the last preceding county or state convention shall be reconvened within five days following certification of the official primary results. The district central committee, through its chairman, shall, as soon as practicable after the necessity for such convention is known, issue a call for it.

KANSAS: Party candidate for primary–nomination papers–signatures required–file with secretary of state not later than June 20. Declaration of intention to become a candidate may be filed by candidate, in lieu of nomination papers, with secretary of state not later than June 20. Party certificate of nomination, signed by presiding officer and secretary of convention or caucus, should be filed with secretary of state not later than June 20. Candidate of new party having a state or national convention, or minor party which appeared on ballot at last preceding general election, but whose candidate for secretary of state did not poll a certain percentage of total vote cast for secretary of state in the preceding general election–such parties may nominate candidates by convention or caucus to be called by state chairman only after filing with secretary of state by April 21 petitions signed by qualified electors equal in number to a certain percentage of the total vote cast for all candidates for governor in the last preceding general election. Independent candidate's certificate of nomination–signatures of a certain number of qualified voters of the state required–file with secretary of state not later than June 20.

KENTUCKY: Party candidate for primary (of party which cast a certain percentage of total vote at last presidential election–notification and declaration of candidate accompanied by affidavit of two reputable electors who are members of his party. File with secretary of state by April 3 or with county clerk by April 13, depending upon the office. Minor parties that have failed to nominate candidates by convention may do so by petition, as in the case of an independent candidate, whose nomination petition must be signed by a certain number of legally qualified voters of the state and filed with secretary of state by April 3.

LOUISIANA: State central committee of party shall meet July 5 and issue call for primary. Candidate for primary must send notification and declaration of candidacy to chairman of such committee for delivery to secretary of state by July 12. Independent candidates and candidates of new parties–file nomination papers with required number of signatures with secretary of state on or before primary date.

MAINE: Party candidate for primary must file petition with certain number of signatures of qualified voters of his party with secretary of state on or before April 1. Written consent of candidate must be filed with primary petition.

MARYLAND: Party candidate must file certificate of candidacy on or before July 1, unless a legal holiday, in which case next non-holiday, with secretary of state or supervisors of elections of the appropriate counties or the city of Baltimore. Independent candidate and candidate of new party must file certificate of nomination with required number of signatures of voters of state with secretary of state by August 26.

MASSACHUSETTS: Party candidate for primary–candidate who is indorsed by preprimary convention–between June 5 and June 27, at the call of the chairman of the party's state committee. Certificate of nomination by state convention shall be filed with secretary of state on or before July 30. Candidate's written acceptance–file with secretary of state within 10 days from the day when the convention terminates. Acceptance cannot be withdrawn. Candidate for primary, other than those indorsed by pre-primary convention–nomination papers and candidate's written acceptance–signatures of qualified voters of his party required. File with secretary of state on or before July 30 for congressional offices, July 23 for legislatorial. Registrar's certificate, showing that candidate is enrolled voter of party whose nomination he seeks, must be filed with secretary of state on or before July 30 or July 23 respectively. Minor party may nominate candidates by state convention composed of delegates chosen at caucuses.

MICHIGAN: Party candidate for primary–nomination petition and affidavit of identification–signatures of qualified and registered electors required. File with secretary of state not later than June 18.

MINNESOTA: Party candidate for primary–affidavit of candidacy–file with secretary of state between July 2 and July 16. Independent nominating petition–signatures of voters required to be obtained during period allowed for filing affidavit of candidacy. File with secretary of state or county auditor, depending upon the office, between July 2 and July 16. Candidates for U.S. senator may be nominated by petition signed by electors resident within the state. All members of legislatorial offices shall be nominated upon nonpartisan ballots. A petition for nomination of a candidate for U.S. representative must be signed electors resident within the district from which he is presented.

MISSISSIPPI: Names of candidates must be furnished to chairman or secretary of proper executive committee of candidate's political party by April 5 for congressional offices.

MISSOURI: Declaration of candidacy must be filed with secretary of state, county clerk, or election commissioners of city of St. Louis, depending upon the office, on or before April 30.

MONTANA: Petitions for nomination must be filed with secretary of state or county clerk, depending upon the office, by April 25.

NEBRASKA: Nomination petition by candidate or by electors of his party must be filed by March 15 with secretary of state. Incumbent of another office must file by March 5. If the candidate files the petition, he should include with it a statement of party affiliation. If electors file it, they should file the party affiliation statement by March 20. The foregoing does not apply to candidates for the nonpartisan legislature; such candidates must file a candidate's affidavit at least 60 days before the primary.

NEVADA: Declaration of candidacy must be filed with secretary of state not later than July 17. Registered voters of candidate's party may file between June 10 and July 12, in which

When Are the Primaries?

States	1968 Primary & (runoff) Dates	Primary Write Ins Permitted?
Alabama	May 7 (June 4)	–
Alaska	August 27	No
Arizona	September 10	Yes
Arkansas	July 30 (Aug. 13)	No
California	June 4	Yes [1]
Colorado	Sept. 10	Yes
Connecticut	[2]	No
Delaware	Aug. 17 [3]	–
Dist. of Columbia	May 7	–
Florida	May 7 (28)	Yes
Georgia	Sept. 11	Yes
Hawaii	Oct. 5	No
Idaho	Aug. 6	Yes
Illinois	June 11	Yes
Indiana	May 7 [3]	–
Iowa	September 3	Yes [4]
Kansas	Aug. 6	
Kentucky	May 28	No
Louisiana	Aug. 17 (Sept. 28)	Yes
Maine	June 17	Yes
Maryland	Sept. 10	No
Massachusetts	Sept. 17	Yes
Michigan	Aug. 6	Yes
Minnesota	Sept. 10	No
Mississippi	[5]	–
Missouri	Aug. 6	No
Montana	June 4	Yes
Nebraska	May 14	Yes
Nevada	Sept. 3	No
New Hampshire	Sept. 10	Yes
New Jersey	June 4	Yes
New Mexico	Aug. 27	No
New York	June 18 [6]	Yes
North Carolina	May 4 (June 1)	–
North Dakota	Sept. 3	Yes
Ohio	May 7	No
Oklahoma	Aug. 27 (May 28)	[7]
Oregon	May 28	Yes
Pennsylvania	April 23	Yes
Rhode Island	Sept. 10	No
South Carolina	June 11 (June 25 & July 9) [8]	No
South Dakota	June 4	[9]
Tennessee	Aug. 1 [10]	–
Texas	May 4 (June 1)	Yes [11]
Utah	Sept. 10	[12]
Vermont	Sept. 10	Yes
Virginia	July 9 (Aug. 13)	–
Washington	Sept. 17	Yes
West Virginia	May 14	No
Wisconsin	Sept. 10	Yes
Wyoming	Aug. 20	Yes

1 Except in presidential primary.

2 Eighth or ninth Wednesday following day of close of state convention, which shall be convened not earlier than June 1 and closed not later than July 15.

3 Candidates for United States senator are nominated by convention, date of which is set by political party.

4 Only when there are no nomination or declaration papers for any office.

5 Congressional offices: June 4 and 25. State offices: August 6 and 27.

6 Candidates for United States senator are nominated by convention.

7 No statutory provision, but general election ballot for congressional offices has blank spaces which may be intended for writing in names; primary ballot has no such spaces.

8 Third primary necessary only if ties occur in second.

9 No statutory provision.

10 Second primary for 20 to 30 days after canvass of returns of first.

11 Defeated primary candidate may be elected by write-in at general election. Write-ins also permitted then if vacancy has occurred on a ticket more than 20 days prior to the election.

12 Limited to names already appearing under another party name.

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case candidate must file an acceptance of nomination with secretary of state or county clerk, depending upon the office. Candidate must file affidavit that he has not, since the last primary, been registered as a member of another party.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Required number of separate primary petitions, each signed by a registered member of candidate's party, must be accompanied by written assent of the candidate, containing a declaration of his party affiliation. File with secretary of state or city or town clerks, depending upon the office, between July 12 and July 26. In lieu of primary petitions and assent of candidate may have his name printed on primary ballot by filing (in person if on last day) a declaration of candidacy with filing fee, with secretary of state between July 12 and July 26. Declaration shall include statement of party affiliation. In case no declaration shall be filed by a candidate and no petition in behalf of a candidate, the party committee of the state, county, or town, as the case may be, may nominate a candidate for the primary by notifying secretary of state before July 30, and by either paying the usual filing fee or by filing petitions with the nomination.

NEW JERSEY: Candidate must file nominating petition and acceptance of nomination with oath of allegiance annexed; signatures of voters of his party required. New and minor party candidates and independent candidates must do likewise. File by April 25, along with certificate of consent of candidate, with secretary of state.

NEW MEXICO: On July 2, file declaration of candidacy with secretary of state, except that a legislatorial candidate whose district would be located within a single county would file with the county clerk.

NEW YORK: Nominations for U.S. senator and governor are made by the state committees or by the enrolled voters of the parties. The state committees shall make designations by majority votes for each of these offices at meetings held between March 26 and April 2.

In addition to such designations the state committees shall also certify each candidate who receives 25 per cent or more of the total vote cast in such committees on any ballot and who makes written demand, duly acknowledged, to the secretary of state for entry of his name as a candidate for the nomination to be made at the primary. Such demand shall be made not later than seven days after such meeting, and may be withdrawn in the same manner within 14 days after such meeting.

Within two days after any such meeting, the minutes of the meeting, duly certified, shall be filed with the secretary of state. In addition, the state committees shall certify to the secretary of state the names of all persons who qualify as candidates for nomination for U.S. senator and governor.

Enrolled members of the party may make other designations by petition for a member of the same party.

If more than one candidate is designated for the nomination of a party for an office, the nomination of the party shall be made at the June 18 primary.

For other offices, designation of a candidate for party nomination at a primary shall be by petition signed by enrolled voters of the party resident within the political unit in which the office is to be voted for. A person designated as a candidate for nomination may decline. If designated or nominated by a party of which he is not a duly enrolled member, or if designated or nominated by more than one party or independent body or by an independent body alone, such person shall, in a signed certificate, filed with the secretary of state or the board of elections of a county or New York City, accept the designation or nomination, otherwise such designation or nomination shall be null and void. A designating certificate shall be filed between May 7 and May 14. A certificate of acceptance or declination of a designation shall be filed not later than May 17. A petition of enrolled members of a party requesting an opportunity to write in the name of an undesignated candidate shall be filed not later than May 21. Where a designating petition has been filed and the person named therein has declined such designation and another person has been designated to fill the vacancy, a petition for an opportunity to ballot in a primary shall be filed not later than May 28.

(Note: The various dates in May referred to above are subject to legislative change each year.)

NORTH CAROLINA: Congressional candidates must file notice of candidacy with state board of elections by February 23 and pledge to abide by primary results. Independent candidate must file nominating petition with required number of signatures, accompanied by his affidavit that he seeks independent nomination and is not affiliated with any party, with state board of elections on or before February 23. Legislatorial candidates: file notice of candidacy with county board of elections by March 22 and pledge to abide by primary results.

NORTH DAKOTA: Candidate's petition with required number of signatures, or certificates of indorsement accompanied by his affidavit that he seeks nomination of certain party, must be filed with secretary of state or county auditor, depending upon the office, between July 5 and July 25.

OHIO: Declaration of candidacy and petition with required number of signatures must be filed with secretary of state not later than February 7; independent candidate must do likewise.

OKLAHOMA: Notification and declaration of candidacy, accompanied by affidavits of two reputable electors who are members of candidate's party, must be filed with secretary of state election board beginning July 8 and ending July 10. Petition supporting candidate's filing, signed by required number of electors eligible and registered to vote in primary, must be filed with notification and declaration or a $1,500 filing fee for candidate for governor and $200 fee for others; independent candidate must do likewise.

OREGON: Candidate's petition for nomination, with signatures of required number of registered party voters, must be filed with secretary of state or county clerk, depending upon the office, not later than March 19. In lieu of petition for nomination, a person may have his name printed as a candidate on his party's primary ballot by filing declaration of candidacy and paying required filing fee; file with secretary of state or county clerk not later than March 19.

PENNSYLVANIA: Nomination petitions with required number of signatures of registered and enrolled members of candidate's party and accompanied by his affidavit must be filed with secretary of commonwealth between January 23 and February 13. Candidates of political bodies which do not qualify as parties must file nomination papers with required number of signatures of qualified electors and accompanied by candidate's affidavit with secretary of commonwealth between February 14 and March 6.

RHODE ISLAND: Declaration of candidacy must be filed with secretary of state during last 10 days in June. Upon receipt of such declaration, secretary of state shall prepare nomination papers for candidate who has qualified, which he shall deliver to candidate within six to nine days after final filing date for declarations of candidacy. Nomination papers with required number of signatures shall be filed with secretary of state not later than July 27. Independent candidate must file nomination papers with required number of signatures with secretary of state not later than August 11; consent of candidate required.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Congressional candidates may be nominated by primary, state convention, or petition, legislatorial candidates by county conventions. Candidate for primary must file notice of candidacy and pledge to support party candidates with treasurer of state executive committee of his party by third Thursday following state convention; state convention shall meet in March at a time fixed by state committee.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Nominating petition with required number of signatures and declaration of candidacy must be filed with secretary of state or county auditor, depending upon the office, between March 21 and April 20. If no congressional candidate receive 35 per cent of the votes cast for the office, the state convention shall, from the candidates in the primary, select the candidate who shall be the party nominee.

TENNESSEE: Nominating petition with required number of signatures of qualified electors of candidate's party must be filed with chairman or secretary of party's state executive committee on or before June 6 for U.S. Senate candidates, with chairman of the respective county primary election commissioners in all participating counties on or before June 2 for candidates for U.S. House Representatives, and with said county chairman on or before June 6 for legislatorial candidates.

TEXAS: Party candidate for major party primary—request to go on ballot must be signed and duly acknowledged by persons seeking nomination or by qualified voters of the state, in which latter case it must be indorsed by candidate, showing his consent to candidacy. Candidate for United States senator or governor files with chairman of state executive committee of his party not later than February 5. Candidate for representative in Congress or legislatorial candidate files with chairman of county executive committee in each county which is wholly or partially within the district for which he is running. Minor parties may nominate candidates by conventions to be held June 8.

UTAH: **Candidates for U.S. Senate:** During July the state convention of each party shall meet in a state primary convention and select nominees to run on the party ticket at the primary. Two nominees receiving the highest number of votes shall be selected to run for each office, except that in the event that one candidate receives 80 per cent or more of the votes so cast where only one office is to be filled, he shall become the party's candidate in the general election without the necessity of running in the primary; and, where the number of candidates filing declarations of candidacy or acceptance of designation is not greater than the number of candidates to be selected for any office, such candidates shall be declared the party's nominees for such office and shall not be required to run at either the party primary convention or the regular primary election. A candidate of primary convention must file declaration of candidacy with secretary of state between April 15 and May 10. Qualified electors of his party may file designation of nomination with secretary of state. Candidate must file acceptance of nomination after designation between April 15 and May 10 with secretary of state. Independent candidates must file certificate of nomination with required number of signatures of legal voters with secretary of state on or before May 10. Candidate must file acceptance with secretary of state on or before May 18.

Candidates for U.S. House of Representatives: Not more than three days before nor more than three days after the meeting of the state primary conventions of each party, the delegates thereto from each congressional district shall meet in congressional district primary conventions at a time designated by the state central committee and select the party's nominees to run at the regular primary.

Legislatorial candidates: Where either House or Senate legislatorial districts are identical with a single county, legislatorial candidates for each party from said districts shall be selected by the county primary conventions of each party. Where such districts cover an area smaller than a county, candidates for legislatorial offices from such districts shall be selected by the delegates to the county primary conventions of each party from the voting districts within such legislatorial district at special legislatorial district primary conventions to be held not more than three days before or more than three days after the county primary convention of each party at a time designated by the county central committee. Where legislatorial districts embrace more than one county, legislatorial candidates from such districts shall be selected by the delegates of each party to the party primary convention from counties within such legislatorial district at special legislatorial district primary conventions to be held not more than 30 days before nor more than 30 days after the state primary convention of each party at a time designated by the state central committee.

VERMONT: Primary petitions with required number of signatures of members of the party and candidate's consent must be filed, with secretary of state in the case of congressional and gubernatorial candidates and with the clerk of the representative district in the case of legislatorial candidates, no later than August 1. Minor parties may nominate by convention, by committee, or by certificate of nomination.

VIRGINIA: Declaration of candidacy and petition with required number of signatures of qualified voters of state must be filed with chairman of party committee not later than April 10.

WASHINGTON: Only candidates of major parties can be voted upon at primaries. (A major party is one of which at least one nominee received at least 10 per cent of the total vote cast at the last preceding statewide general election.) Candidates of major parties must file between July 29 and August 2.

WEST VIRGINIA: File certificate of announcement of candidacy with secretary of state or clerk of the circuit court, depending upon the office, between January 1 and February 3. Candidates of minor parties may be nominated by convention or by certificate in the same manner as independents. If by convention, file certificate of nomination with secretary of state not later than May 13. Groups of citizens having no party organization may nominate candidates by petition. Candidate shall file, with secretary of state, declaration containing name of party which he proposes to represent, its platform, and its principles, not later than April 13. Certificate of nomination, bearing required number of signatures of registered voters, must be filed with secretary of state not later than May 13.

WISCONSIN: Nomination papers shall be circulated not sooner than June 1 preceding the primary and shall be filed with the necessary signatures not later than July 9, with the secretary of state, except for those legislatorial candidates whose districts do not comprise more than one country, in which case they shall be filed with the county clerk.

WYOMING: File application for nomination with secretary of state or county clerk, depending upon the office, between May 22 and July 11.

Presidential Primary Rundown

State	Primary Date	Filing Deadline	Is Candidate's Consent Required?	Are Write-Ins Permitted?	1964 GOP Presidential Primary Results (Percentages)
New Hampshire	March 12*	February 1	Not required, but may withdraw within 10 days	Yes	Lodge 35.5; Goldwater 22.3; Rockefeller 21; Nixon 16.8
Wisconsin	April 2	February 29	Not required but may withdraw	Yes	Favorite son Byrnes unopposed
Pennsylvania	April 23*	February 13	No	Yes	Scranton 58.3; Lodge 21.1; Nixon 9.7; Goldwater 8.5
Massachusetts	April 30*	March 5	Yes	Yes	Lodge 79.3; Goldwater 10.5
District of Columbia	May 7*	April 6	No	No	Nine unpledged delegates elected
Indiana	May 7*	March 28	Yes	No	Goldwater 67; Stassen 26.8
Ohio	May 7*	February 7	Yes	Yes	Favorite son Rhodes without substantial opposition
Nebraska	May 14**	February 3	Not required but may withdraw by March 15	Yes	Goldwater 49.5; Nixon 31.5; Lodge 16.2; Rockefeller 1.7
West Virginia	May 14**	February 3	Yes	No	Rockefeller unopposed
Florida	May 28*	March 6	No	Yes	Unpledged slate 58.1; Goldwater 41.9
Oregon	May 28*	March 19	Not required but may withdraw by filing sworn affadavit	Yes	Rockefeller 33; Lodge 27.7; Goldwater 17.6; Nixon 16.8; Margaret Smith 2.9; Scranton 2
California	June 4*	April 5	Yes	Yes	Goldwater 51.4; Rockefeller 48.6
New Jersey	June 4**	April 25	Not required but may withdraw	Yes	Lodge 40; Goldwater 24.8; Nixon 23.2
South Dakota	June 4*	April 20	No	No	Unpledged slate 68.1; Goldwater 31.9
Illinois	June 11*	March 25	Required but may withdraw	Yes	Goldwater 62; Margaret Smith 25.3

*Closed primary (each party's primary open only to registered voters of that party) **Closed, non-binding primary

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Spy Net Story Continues

How Stalin Learned Our A-Bomb Secrets

Trusted Britons regularly informed Soviets of U. S. nuclear projects

By ARTHUR VEYSEY

(Russian spies planted in the British and American governments more than 25 years ago have delivered to Moscow secrets of the atom bomb, nuclear submarines, intercontinental missiles, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They helped organize the United States Central Intelligence Agency and sent to Moscow the names of the agents. During the Korean War they helped formulate the policies that prevented Gen. MacArthur from pursuing the Red Chinese Army across the Yalu River. They were able in 1944 to tell Stalin that Churchill regarded the Soviet Union as the greatest post-war threat. Some of the highly placed Britons who were Russian agents have fled to Russia and recently have begun to talk. With each revelation there is a reaction by American intelligence officials. The Chicago Tribune *has put together the story of these spies. The article below is the second of seven installments in this* Tribune *series which will appear in consecutive issues of* Human Events.)

London:—Americans have a vital interest in the British citizens who have been caught spying for the Soviet Union because it is American secrets the Kremlin seeks. Britons, as the most trusted of American allies since 1942, have had access to top American secrets, but a number of them have been opening doors and unlocking cabinets for the Russians.

The partnership has cost America dearly. Of all the secrets of World

Thanks to Dr. Klaus Fuchs (above), Stalin knew about the U.S. A-bomb project before President Truman told him about it. Fuchs now works in East Germany.

War II, the most precious concerned the atom bomb. Soviet Premier Josef Stalin was well informed, thanks to three physicists sent by Britain—Alan Nunn May, a promising Cambridge man who worked for Ernest Rutherford, atomic pioneer; Klaus Fuchs, a German pacifist's son who early fled from Hitler to England; and Bruno Pontecorvo, an Italian who achieved scientific fame in Pisa at 22 but left when Mussolini's purges ruined his family fortune.

Fuchs, at Los Alamos, N.M., saw the first atom bomb explode over the desert. Precisely, in detail, he told the Kremlin how it was made. May gave the Russians samples of the uranium and, according to the Manhattan project director, Gen. L. R. Groves, knew more about the first splitting of the atom at the University of Chicago and subsequent work there than any other Briton. Pontecorvo was also welcome at Chicago.

No wonder that in four years the Soviet Union had its own bombs. Whether American bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought an abrupt end to

Communist Alan Nunn May received $400 and a bottle of whisky from the Russians as a token payment for two valuable uranium samples.

World War II is still debated. But that Russia's quick production of bombs from stolen formulas and designs put the free world into peril is uncontested.

Nor did British traitors cease their work with delivery of the bomb designs. From the British Embassy in Washington, Donald Maclean, as secretary to the Joint Atomic Affairs Policy Committee, learned how much uranium the United States was using, and this enabled Russia to determine how fast the United States was building up its nuclear stocks. New methods for getting uranium from gold ores in South Africa also passed through his hands.

As the United States changed from bombs to missiles, from planes to nuclear submarines, Britons reported regularly to Moscow. And if they missed any facts, a Swede, Col. Stig Wennderstrom, trusted in Washington and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a friendly neutral, filled the gaps.

British traitors tapped high political policy decisions. Maclean knew of President Truman's decision to extend the Korean War across the Yalu River. As the Berlin crisis developed in 1950, he was head of the Foreign Office's American Department and thus privy to American plans for the former German capital.

In 1956, when Communists tried to take over Lebanon, Harold (Kim) Philby was on the spot, in Beirut, posing as a British newspaperman, a favorite cover-up for spies, but working for both British intelligence and the Russian secret service.

Was a Russian spy in danger? Philby was perfectly placed. When in 1944 Prime Minister Winston Churchill decided that the war would end in victory and the Nazi collapse, he ordered an anti-Soviet intelligence department set up, foreseeing that Stalin would then seek to take over Europe for the Communists and spread his Red revolution throughout the world.

Philby, Russia's master spy, was placed in charge by British intelligence. Thus he was able to inform Moscow immediately of Churchill's post-war plans and funnel to the USSR all of the plans. When the United States later lumped all its services into the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA welcomed Philby as its contact with Britain. Stationed then in Washington, he helped organize the CIA.

The Kremlin could protect its own spies and also strike at allied agents with the help of Philby and another double-dealing British agent, George Blake. An ex-CIA man says Philby, as CIA contact man, led to the deaths of "many persons." Blake is blamed for the disappearance of at least 40 allied agents. In this case "disappearance" meant arrest, torture and slow death.

May, Fuchs, Pontecorvo, Maclean, Philby, Guy Burgess, another British diplomat, and Blake are the terrible seven of Britain's darkest generation of traitors.

But other names would emerge from the misty world of spying—William Vassall, a vicar's homosexual son who, ingratiating his way into the office of the naval chief of staff, plundered the files to get spending money; plump Ethel Gee and Henry Houghton, two little people who fell victim to Russian spy Konon Molody's flattery and money and stole drawings for Britain's first nuclear submarine; a lonely woman civil servant; an Air Force sergeant; perhaps a couple of newspapermen who went to the East; and six Britons hanged as wartime traitors who helped Germany.

Together the spies spell catastrophe. But the exposed spies are only a small part of the full story. Rarely does an intelligence service publicly display a traitor or a captured rival.

Of the terrible seven, the services brought to court only Fuchs, May and Blake. The other four revealed themselves by their flight to Russia. Intelligence services have better purposes than jail for the trapped man, as we will

Italian-born Bruno Pontecorvo was handsomely rewarded by the Soviet Union for his defection.

see later in this series when examining Philby.

Let us look first at May, Fuchs and Pontecorvo.

Fuchs grew up in a little German town near Frankfurt. His father was a Protestant pastor and a pacifist. As soldiers passed through on their way to the Western front trenches, the father forbade his small children from joining the cheers. The children became outcasts.

Later the father, Emil, became a Quaker. He preached against Hitler and steps toward war. The Nazis put him in a concentration camp. Fuchs' sister threw herself under a train. But Fuchs, by then a student at Kiel University, thought people should fight the Nazis. He saw help only among Communists. He joined the Young Communist League.

But in 1933 he went to Paris, then came to Britain. He finished his studies at Bristol University and went to Edinburgh for a doctor's degree in theoretical physics. By 1939 the small world of physicists highly regarded him. But he was German, so the British, rounding up potential fifth columnists, sent him to a camp in Canada. He was deeply hurt.

The injury did not disappear when Britain, hearing the Germans were bringing heavy water from Norway to make a new bomb, freed Fuchs, gave him citizenship, and sent him to the United States to join the atom bomb team at Los Alamos. Before he left London he sought Russian agents and arranged to report regularly.

That Britain appointed him or that America accepted him into the most secret of all wartime enterprises seems incredible today. But in 1942 the suspected persons were those of fascist leanings. Security men knew Fuchs had reason to hate Hitler. They were not concerned that he might work for Russia.

When the fighting in Europe was over, President Truman whispered to Soviet Premier Josef Stalin at Potsdam that the United States had a new weapon, an atom bomb. Stalin showed no interest, an odd reaction attributed at the time to Stalin's failing to grasp the importance of Truman's disclosure. Stalin already had the news from Fuchs.

The second physicist, May, worked in a Canadian plant, at Chalk River, making heavy water for a possible atom bomb. The task failed, as the Germans also learned, too late. But May traveled often to the University of Chicago, where the atom was first split,

(Continued on next page)

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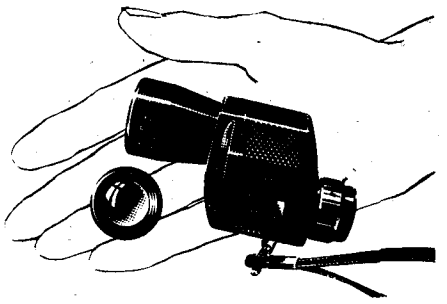

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Continued from preceding page

and there he learned how the rival uranium project was developing.

May became a Communist at Cambridge University during the early 1930s. May visited Leningrad in 1934. He may have signed away his future there. Whether he passed any secrets during the war is now known in London.

But early in 1945 the Russians wanted samples of the uranium used at Los Alamos. A Russian military aide, at Ottawa, Ontario, asked May for some. He provided uranium in both states, 233 and fortified 235. The Russian gave him $400 and a bottle of whisky, as a token.

May's job in Canada was over and he returned to London to teach at Kings College. But in the autumn a young Russian, Igor Gouzenko, who worked in Ottawa as a code clerk, decided not to go home to Moscow. He failed to convince Canadian officials he was not a fraud until, with Russian agents searching Gouzenko's apartment, a neighboring Air Force sergeant obtained a hearing for him.

Among the papers the clerk handed over was a report that a British physicist, code named Alex, who had supplied uranium samples, would meet Russian agents on various nights in October outside the British Museum in London.

Scotland Yard kept watch; Alex failed to appear. Four months passed before the Yard connected Alex with May and arrested him as he left a classroom. He admitted passing the uranium.

"I thought it was a contribution I could make for mankind," he said, setting the excuse for other traitors.

A British judge jailed May for 10 years. London papers, missing the implications, gave the trial only limited space. May, with time off for good behavior, was free in six years. He returned to Cambridge, married a Vienna-born doctor, Hindegaard Broda, worked on metal fatigue until President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana hired him, at a reported $35,000 a year, to direct nuclear physics at the new University of Ghana. The Mays are still in Accra, but Nkrumah has been overthrown.

May's arrest chilled colleagues. At Los Alamos, a wife, recalling May, remarked at a party, "He's a lot like Klaus there." She meant May and Fuchs looked alike—short, thin, balding, very shortsighted—and behaved alike—shy, living quietly though occasionally drinking whisky by the bottle.

Fuchs shuddered at the unwitting indictment. Nobody suspected him; Fuchs made a fetish of security, protesting against all disclosures of information, showingly locking up papers and handing keys to security officers.

Fuch's job in America, too, was done. He came home. Britain made him No. 3 at its new atomic research station at Harwell. For a year he shunned the Russians but, after a vacation with a Communist brother in Switzerland, arranged to report regularly, usually at two London saloons, the Nag's Head and the Spotted Horse.

Fuchs grew to love Harwell and his bachelor bungalow there, the many close friends, the women who found him a pleasant companion. But the double life put a strain on him. One day, riding with a friend, a stone shattered the car windshield. Fuchs dropped to the floor, deadly white, certain someone tried to shoot him. He decided to go straight.

But in 1949 the Russians exploded their first bomb, years earlier than many persons thought possible. Someone had blabbed. American security pointed to Fuchs. Four days before Christmas a Scotland Yard man called on Fuchs and accused him. He denied all.

The talks went on every few days for a month. Then Fuchs confessed. He said he had told the Russians how the bomb was made, but refused to repeat the details to the Yard man who had not been "cleared by security" to handle such secrets. A judge jailed Fuchs for 14 years, the longest possible under the charge. "Thank you, my lord," Fuchs said.

Fuchs, too, was a model prisoner. He was freed in 1959. He flew to East Berlin. His father, then 85, who had just visited him in jail, was professor of theology at Karl Marx University at Leipzig. Waiting at the airport was Greta Killson, a German Fuchs had known in Paris in 1933. In the interval she had married. Her husband, after the war, had become head of the East German foreign office news department. But by 1959 she was a widow. In three months she and Fuchs were married.

The East German government made Fuchs head of the nuclear physics department at Rossendorf, near Dresden, gave him the Order of the Fatherland in 1962, and this year elected him to the party committee.

Fuchs' arrest in 1950 set off new uneasiness among atom scientists, by then seriously divided between doing their duty to science and their duty to man.

Pontecorvo was among the upset. Britain had given him citizenship and a job at Harwell. He was just moving in with his Swedish wife, Marianne Nordbloom, whom he had married in Paris in 1940, and their three children. He was a gay fellow, sometimes recalling how earlier he had played tennis with King Gustav.

Pontecorvo sought out the Harwell security officer and told him, offhandedly, a younger brother in Italy was a Communist. The officer found the fact interesting and started to take a new, long, slow look at Pontecorvo, but did not demur when the scientist said he was taking his family by car to Italy for a month's vacation.

For three weeks the family camped and swam, then, suddenly, after a conference with Communist relatives, Pontecorvo flew with his family to Stockholm, paying for tickets with hundred-dollar bills, and onward to Helsinki, Finland, where a car awaited and presumably rushed the family through the woods to Leningrad.

Harwell didn't report him missing for a few weeks. Still later a report came from Stockholm that Mrs. Pontecorvo was a Communist.

The Russians welcomed Pontecorvo, sent him to their atom research station at Dubna on the Volga, 80 miles from Moscow, and subsequently gave him citizenship, a six-room house in the woods, party membership, and a place in the Academy of Sciences.

And, on his 50th birthday, he was given the Order of Lenin, describing him as "one of the outstanding physicists of our time." The Russians insist he seeks only peaceful uses from nuclear energy.

(To be continued in next week's issue)

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Kennedy Still Keeps Door Open

Bobby wants delegates to stay 'uncommitted'

By PAUL SCOTT

Sen. Robert Kennedy is skillfully maneuvering to keep his political door ajar for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

With his full approval, Kennedy's closest political lieutenants are passing the word that he plans to hold himself open and ready to move into the Democratic race in case one of three conditions should develop:

- President Johnson or his stand-in candidates are defeated or run poorly in the presidential preference primaries.
- Some critical turn for the worse in the Viet Nam war or civil disturbance in the U.S. sends the President's popularity way down.
- Presidential withdrawal, disability or death.

While present odds are heavily against any of these contingencies, Sen. Kennedy plans to be ready and free to act swiftly if one should occur.

This inside word on Kennedy's 1968 strategy is being presented to a number of key Democratic leaders throughout the country in a determined effort to keep as many of them as possible from making unbreakable commitments to President Johnson.

These Democrats, including several who spark-plugged the late President Kennedy's 1960 nomination, are being urged to adopt the same flexible political stance as the New York senator.

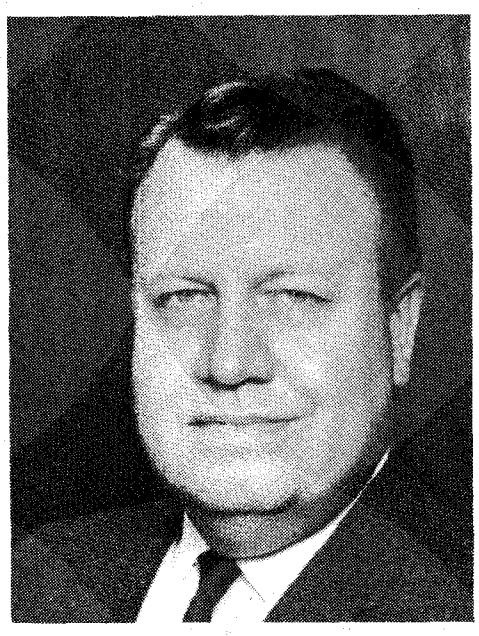
When all the political tinsel is stripped away, the Kennedy position is simply an agreement to support President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey if they are nominated by the Democratic National Convention. Any stronger commitment to the Johnson-Humphrey team is to be delayed as long as possible.

The Democratic leaders are being informed that Kennedy's decision not to endorse the peace candidacy of Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), is part of the senator's open-door strategy.

The Kennedy objective, his aides say, is to avoid foreclosing the possibility of his own challenge to the President right up to the opening of the Democratic convention in Chicago next August.

In addition to making his own views on foreign policy and domestic issues better known in the coming months, Kennedy's plan calls for him to continue to encourage McCarthy's attacks on the President's Viet Nam war policy.

One of Kennedy's chief West Coast supporters, California Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, in counseling other Democrats to stand clear of making any endorsement flatly says, "Senator Kennedy has not ruled out running in 1968."



California Democratic bigwig Jesse Unruh says Bobby "has not ruled out running in 1968."

Another of Kennedy's political confidants, William J. vanden Heuvel, of New York, is telling civil rights leaders, "Don't count Bobby out. He may run if certain things occur before the Chicago convention."

Vanden Heuvel, who served under Kennedy in the Justice Department, has been helping Dr. Martin Luther King raise money for his campaign to "dislocate" Washington with massive demonstrations in the spring.

Significantly, King has followed Kennedy's lead in declining to endorse any presidential aspirant, although he has publicly welcomed the candidacy of Sen. McCarthy.

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Why Let Red China Become Nuclear Power?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

If the United States permits Red China to become a nuclear power and blackmail its neighbors progressively into Communist servitude, it will not be Mao Tse-tung's fault.

For Chairman Mao has not only made no bones about his concentration on developing a first-class nuclear weapon (thanks mostly to American-trained Chinese and treasonable Europeans), but scheduled his latest test on the eve of the "foreign devils'" major holiday to emphasize his low opinion of them.

Meanwhile, Mao continues to infiltrate Chinese Communists, many of them disguised as refugees, into neighboring Burma and backs North Vietnamese aggression in Laos and Thailand.

Such infiltration will not be too dangerous, provided we eliminate the Viet Cong from South Viet Nam. But the prospect of Red China as a full-fledged nuclear power has put the fear of God into non-Communist Asia. Even boastful Indians no longer conceal their anxiety.

What these Asians want most to know is what, if anything, the United States is going to do about it.

Just what is Washington's policy toward Peking? Is it another veiled retreat marked by unilateral concessions, as toward Moscow? Or does Secretary of State Rusk mean business when he promises to contain Chinese expansion? And if the latter, just how, once Red China becomes a real nuclear power, does he hope to accomplish this?

Americans, worried Asians complain in private conversations, speak of "trying to put the atomic genie back into the bottle" while simultaneously advocating a nuclear non-proliferation treaty with the Soviet Union that would perpetuate nuclear might in the hands of just two countries.

Or, if Moscow and Washington want peace, why do they not together destroy Red China's nuclear installations while there is still time?

Still better, since few serious students of world affairs believe that Russia could or would side with the United States against Red China, why does not the United States utilize the present chaos on the Chinese mainland to eliminate Mao and his friends and re-establish a non-Communist government which would presumably consent to sign the non-proliferation treaty?

Now this is the last chance. A victory either by Mao or by the "revisionists" is bound to be a tragedy for free Asia—and not Asia alone.

If Mao wins he will seek any relatively safe (say, with not more than 300 million Chinese casualties) opportunity to provoke a nuclear war. If the "revisionists" overcome Red Guards and Maoists in the armed forces they will revert to full political, military and perhaps nuclear cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Now if ever is the moment for the United States, without involving a single American combatant, to give its Free Chinese on Taiwan full logistic support for an invasion of the mainland and provide them with the long-range bombers with which their aviators can destroy Red China's nuclear installations at Lob Nor in Sikiang Province. So what is President Johnson waiting for? This is the argument one hears from even more of our Asian friends, not excepting certain Japanese. I wish I knew the answer.

(Copyright 1968, Bell-McClure Syndicate)

Goldwater's Final Column

Will We Adhere to Basic Principles?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

As I head toward the campaign trail again, I'd like to set down a few statements of basic principle for those who have commented that I have based my entire political career on an attempt to be consistent with certain values rather than only with the expediency of each vote.

First, let me say that I have, despite every headline and every disaster, an unlimited and absolute faith in man and the future.

I find that people are basically good. I think that the world, although demanding, is a wonderful, rewarding place and not at all a brooding prison in which we must unwillingly spend a span of years until released.

Those who weep and wail about the evil that men do and the destruction that we are capable of sowing are looking in the wrong direction.

Because he will be running for the Senate from Arizona this year, Barry Goldwater has given up his newspaper column.

Yes, we can blow up whole cities. But that same power can light the world. Yes, we have studied even the use of germ warfare. But that same sort of research has lengthened our lives, saved them and promises golden years ahead.

As to the nature of man, let me say as I have before and will many times again, that I think man's ability rationally to think is the faculty that sets him apart. It is to man's rational mind that I feel we must look for the solution of our problems and the resolution of our future.

Whenever we substitute violence of mind or body for rational debate and rational thought, we simply turn off man's highest, grandest attribute and descend to the level of quarrelsome, reflex-bound beasts.

Let me cite one current example of what this regard for man's rational mind must mean to all who share it. It means that no other attribute of a person—such as the color of his skin, or the names of his ancestors—may properly be substituted in establishing the value of that person. What counts is not what we see on the outside, what he wears or by what name he calls himself. What counts is what goes on inside the man's head and how he acts as a consequence.

Applying this principle to economics, it seems clear to me that capitalism is the only system that can be called rational. It depends upon the free choices of all involved. It depends on individual energy and creativity and rejects the Socialist mysticism of groups, collective thinking and so forth.

Socialism, at its root, must be watered by state power. It must exercise power over people in order to achieve conformity with its plans. Capitalism establishes no such power. It establishes only markets, in which all are free to exchange values for values, work for goods, goods for works, as they see voluntarily fit.

Applied to government, this faith in the mind of man means faith in the ability of people to conduct their own affairs, by their own lights, with an absolute minimum of state intervention. It means a state that concentrates on preventing the use of violence (ranging from physical violence to the economic violence of cheating).

Above all, it means a state that never masters the people, but is instead always mastered by them and used solely for the benefit of their independence and by their pleasure.

I am, therefore, and even in a year which some see as dark, a believer in the light—in the light of man's unfettered, rational mind. It can light not only this year, but all the years of all the centuries that wait to welcome us.

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Academic Infallibility

By MORRIE RYSKIND

In my childhood, every other New York block was a sort of Hyde Park. And after dinner, we'd all head for the corner, where soap-box orators expounded their various isms, often to some good-natured heckling.

I'll never forget one devout atheist who wound up his preachment dramatically by shaking his fist at the heavens and crying, "If there's a God, let him strike me down dead!" All of us youngsters—and probably some elders—shivered in apprehension.

But nothing happened even when he thrice repeated his defi. And we spent the rest of the evening wondering why the Lord had refused the challenge. It was beyond us.

Then, some years later, I heard Billy Sunday, ballplayer turned evangelist, similarly defy the devil. After eloquently flaying the Evil One verbally, Billy stomped on the ground and dared Satan to come up and fight like a man. I hoped he would, for I was sure Billy would beat him to a pulp. But the cowardly devil never appeared.

Those two traumatic experiences may explain why I now dare to question the doctrine of academic infallibility. I may be called anti-intellectual again, but at least I know I won't be struck dead.

Mind you, I do not rank teachers as devils—nor as angels, either. I simply contend they are made of the same flesh and blood as the rest of us, and so equally subject to error—and pomposity. An extra degree does not turn them into supermen.

Consider the shibboleth of "academic freedom," represented as only a desire to hear both sides. Last week some 7,000 UCLA students and faculty turned out to hear Adam Clayton Powell, punctuating his talk with generous applause. And, a day or so later, Sen. Eugene McCarthy spoke at the same place before 8,000 and, at the end, got a standing ovation.

Fair enough. But if Secretary Rusk should come, many who politely listened to Powell and McCarthy would be picketing; and, of those who did attend, some would walk out in protest. Even LBJ has at times undignifiedly been forced to enter meetings through some subterranean passage.

The academy can do no wrong? The hell it can't! A recent test showed that in reading ability the Los Angeles public schools ranked among the lowest 7 per cent of the nation.

Immediately, there were cries that the test was not fair. But what test is when you flunk it? That's when a whipping-boy comes in handy.

One professor I met during the holidays blamed it all on our governor. "One year of Reagan," he said bitterly, "and California drops from first in education to 42nd!" Asked how Reagan had wrought this havoc, he replied, "The facts speak for themselves." Pressed further, he strode from the room in indignation.

Another alibi is that L.A. has many families in which English is not the main tongue at home. Well, so did the New York block on which I lived—many of the kids spoke Yiddish, Italian, German and Polish before they learned English.

But somehow as they gathered to play hop-scotch and tag, and later one-old-cat and baseball, they all spoke English. And spoke it well enough to go on to high school after they had their diploma from P.S. 186. Some even went on to become teachers.

And all their fathers—and some of the mothers—had gone to night school at least long enough so they could sign their names and learn enough U.S. history to pass the test for naturalization. They did not demand the right to vote and the other privileges of citizenship without accepting the obligations thereof.

Of course, they learned by phonics. There was then none of that "look-say" nonsense in which you might learn to read "rhinoceros" and even draw a picture of it, but were stumped by "tiger" because you hadn't learned the alphabet and couldn't figure out what those five letters represented.

Anyway, for the moment at least, phonics is coming back to L.A. But 10 years ago, the teachers called you anti-intellectual if you found any good in that archaic device.

I'm thankful, but I'm wary lest some new fad sweep the academy. And I'm glad I don't have to go to school nowadays, because I'd look awful silly in a dunce cap.

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Cuban-Spawned Disorder

From *El Diario Ilustrado,* Santiago, Chile

Reports from Lima point out that Communist students in Trujillo, capital of the Department of La Libertad, occupied the National University building there and held 16 professors, among them the dean of the faculty of mathematical sciences, hostage.

An event of this sort no longer attracts the attention of us Chileans. In our country it has become a habitual thing for students in university, high school, grammar school and even kindergarten to assault educational establishments.

We have said, and we will go on repeating, that these outrages form part of a massive plan of continental subversion elaborated in Havana at the Tricontinental Solidarity Congress of January 1966 from which the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) and a series of revolutionary movements of Castroite inspiration resulted.

This affirmation of ours is based on the very documents published by the organizers of the tricontinental meeting and on the statements published by the strictly Communist press itself.

An example is the magazine *Cuadernos Universitarios,* edited in Santiago, which printed the program of attacks and misconduct to be carried out under pretext of obtaining "the democratization of the university."

Still the authorities charged with guarding public order and enforcing respect of the laws avoid taking action or making any statement, so as not to lose the sympathy of the trouble-makers.

Unhappily, as long as this hands-off criteria prevails, all that is achieved is a weakening of the concept of authority to the point that authority becomes ever more precarious, unstable and shameful.

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